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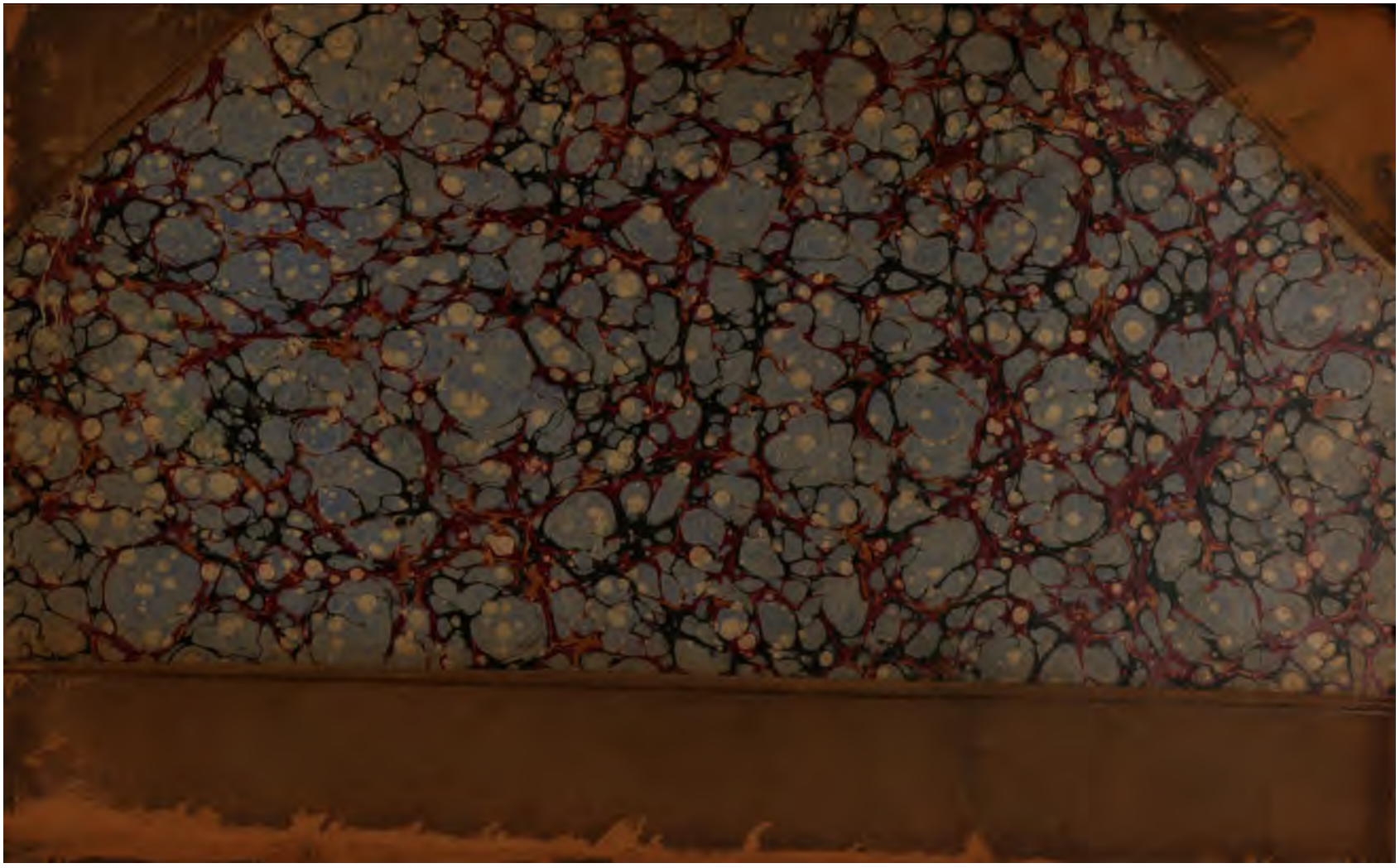

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

# LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

*THIRTY-FIRST SESSION.*

THIRD SERIES—VOLUME VII.

SESSION 1878-79.

LIVERPOOL:
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# *ADVERTISEMENT.*

ROYAL INSTITUTION,
LIVERPOOL, *1st July, 1879.*

At a Council Meeting of the HISTORIC SOCIETY, held in the Royal Institution, Liverpool, 17th April, 1879, a proposal was made by the Hon. Secretary, to preface the forthcoming volume of the Transactions with the following remarks, upon the nature of the work which the members of the present Council propose that the Society shall undertake, for the future, so far as their jurisdiction extends.

At this time, when there are so many active Societies in Liverpool for the advancement of science, literature, and art, it seems important that the only Society in the town for the promotion of history and archæology, should not be behindhand, either in definitely understanding its mission, or in duly fulfilling it, so that it may deserve the respect and support of public opinion.

The original mission of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire was no doubt to bring together those who were interested in local and general history and archæology, and to publish such communications from the members as would be serviceable to literature. But it was found necessary to extend the sphere of operations, and to meet a variety of tastes. Other subjects, such as political economy and natural history, were introduced at times in the Society's Proceedings.

While the Council know that this comprehension was valuable, at a time when other societies did not offer opportunity for the discussion of such subjects, they feel it to be their duty, under the altered circumstances, to concentrate the efforts of the Historic Society upon strictly historical and archæological lines. They consider that the comprehensive character of the work done by the other learned societies in the town is an excuse and opportunity for this concentration, which is not without many advantages. They consider too, that as the Historic Society has been dependent in a

great measure upon the support which it has received from the country members, and those beyond the two counties, it is only due to them that the prominent feature of the Society's work, and the prevailing matter in the Society's volume, should bear upon historical and archæological matters, principally local, but also general.

Two points may be urged against this view of the mission of the Historic Society :—first, that the matter will not be forthcoming to engage the Society, and second, that it will be so exclusively archæological, that members will retire from it who desire to be more generally provided for. Against these difficulties it may fairly be urged :—first, that private individuals are constantly publishing matter which the Society might have spared them the expense of doing; and second, that the comprehensive scheme of working the Society can hardly be considered a test of what success might attend its efforts,—as it was only recently proposed, in consequence of its not attracting members, to wind up the Society altogether.

It will be well, however, in as few words as possible, to look at what might be done in a practical light.

During the present century the study of history has received an unprecedented impetus. This revival may be traced primarily to the cultivation of the public intelligence, and to the scientific status which has been given to archæology. To all branches of historical knowledge has been applied the test of exact scientific inquiry. The countries, monuments, documents, and various remains have been rigidly examined, upon a scientific and not upon a speculative system, and they have yielded an extraordinary harvest. Special societies have been formed, such as the Society of Biblical Archæology, to help forward a special subject; and local societies, such as our own, to work up particular districts.

It is towards this latter work that the Council wish to direct the attention of the members of the Society, and of the public at large. Day by day the steady influences of time and forgetfulness remove the records of the past. The love and preservation of what is worth our keeping does not seem to be always active amongst us. The religious, political, artistic, and social traditions die out, and become of no account, as generation follows generation; and with these traditions vanish the very meaning and significance of the

most noble, beautiful, and venerable things. Take as an instance the Gothic architecture of this country. Where shall we find greater power and beauty than in the mediæval architecture of England? And yet, between the late perpendicular buildings and the Gothic revival of this century, what an immense hiatus occurs! The tradition became lost, and with it went all the attendant Ecclesiastical arts. And if this could happen to so great a science, what may not be the fate of less important traditions?

Look at the histories of the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire. Consider how dependent such histories are upon the fate of individuals, families, traditions, buildings, monuments, pictures, documents, and numerous other fleeting objects, which can be forgotten, lost, stolen, or destroyed. Consider how imperfect any such histories must necessarily be, until these matters have been properly brought to light, and resuscitated by investigation and comparison; and how any general history of England is dependent upon the completeness and accuracy of these local histories. Look what a transformation has taken place concerning some of the most important matters in English history by the opening up of the documents treasured in the Record Office, and in the hands of private individuals, so that the history has had to be practically rewritten; and how public opinion has enlarged itself, and justice has been done, and prejudice removed.

Now it is well known that both in Lancashire and Cheshire, there exist in the hands of corporations societies and individuals, many houses, traditions, pictures, and documents of great historical importance. In some cases these are objects which seem to be of no account, a corner of an old stained-glass window, with a fragmentary heraldic design; the portrait of an unknown worthy, by a nameless artist; a box of mouldy deeds; a few fragments of rude pottery; a monument in brass or stone; a stone implement or a coin. All these apparently worthless and insignificant matters, each seeming nothing by itself, do conspire, when put together and intelligently compared, towards giving the historian a correct judgment on the fugitive past.

Now, if the work of resuscitating these remains be the duty of any society, it is most certainly the office of the Historic Society. And the Council hope that those who are the possessors

or custodians of any such records will put themselves into communication with the Secretary, that they may be made serviceable and brought to the notice of those who will value them and use them. And it may be safely said that the owners of such specimens,—which are generally unique,—will derive direct benefit from having a record of them in print, when it is remembered how constantly the effects of fire and other accidents in country houses are year by year destroying these valuable remains.

Amongst the objects which are of interest may be mentioned, Ancient British Antiquities—barrows, encampments, groups of large stones, stone and bronze implements, and traces of the Celtic language in the names of places; Roman Antiquities—roads, encampments, villas, pavements, altars, bronzes, coins, &c.; Saxon and Danish Antiquities—Runic crosses, interments, coins, names with a distinctly Saxon or Danish origin; Mediæval and later Antiquities—Gothic architecture in churches or houses, monuments, brasses, armour, plate, manuscripts, either illustrated or plain, vestments, frescoes, stained glass, pottery, and remains of old pot-works, deeds and family documents, medals, pedigrees, embroidery, pictures, parochial registers and churchwardens' accounts, municipal charters and records of proceedings. This imperfect list will give the reader some idea of the materials which the Society is anxious to work up.

In conclusion, the Council of the Historic Society venture to hope, that those who are fortunate enough to possess such antiquities hidden from the public, will be moved to come forward and allow them to be made known, for the benefit of a large class who, working from day to day amid the busy routine of commercial life, gain from a genuine interest in such things the cultivation of their intelligence, and the awakening and widening of their sympathies.

C. T. GATTY,
HON. SEC.

This Volume has been edited by the Honorary Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The authors of papers alone are responsible for the facts and opinions expressed in their respective communications.

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# CONTENTS.

*Papers marked thus* (*) *are illustrated.*


PAGE.

* The Shields of Arms formerly in the Windows of the Parish Church of Lymm, County Chester, as illustrative of the origin of several local Coats of Arms. By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A. ..... 1

* Roman Manchester. By W. Thompson Watkin, Esq. ..... 13

A Century of Recusancy, Part I. By the Rev. T. E. Gibson ..... 33

* A Century of Recusancy, Part II. By the Rev. T. E. Gibson ..... 49

Notes, Historical and Antiquarian, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. By J. Harris Gibson, Esq., Hon. Curator ..... 67

* The Map-History of the Coast, from the Dee to the Duddon. A Search for the Belisama of Horsley. By Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. ..... 83

* On some Mediæval Pottery lately found in Derbyshire. By Charles T. Gatty, Esq., Hon. Secretary ..... 97

* PROCEEDINGS of Session xxxi, 1878-79 ..... 105

Report for Session xxx, 1877-78 ..... 105

Lenten Notes of the Olden Time ..... 113

An Ancient Deed, referring to Delinquents and Recusants in Cheshire during the reign of Charles II ..... 115

Balance Sheet, Session xxx ..... 118

Donations to the Library ..... 119

New Members elected ..... 120

Index ..... 121

Advertisement ..... iii

Price of Volumes ..... vii

Council and Officers, Session xxxi, 1878-79 ..... viii

List of Members ..... xi

Past Presidents, Secretaries, &c. ..... xxiv

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.


| PLATE. | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Lymm Arms | *Frontispiece.* |
| II. | Bronze Statuette of Jupiter Stator | to face p. 24 |
| III. | Fragment of Wall of the Ancient Castle of Manchester | ,, 26 |
| IV. | Commission appointing William Blundell to be Captain of Dragoons, 1642 | ,, 61 |
| V. | "Medii Ævi. Typus, A.D. 1370-1470" | ,, 89 |
| VI. | Xylographic Map, circa A.D. 1400 | ,, 92 |
| VII. | Old Portulane and Modern Map | ,, 93 |
| VIII. | Angular Bearing of Wirrall Shore. (1) Ptolemaic Angle, (2) True Angle | ,, 94 |
| IX. | Horsley's Belisama | ,, 96 |
| X. | Pottery from Burley Hill | ,, 101 |
| XI. | Do. Do. | ,, 103 |
| XII. | Late Celtic Antiquities | ,, 117 |

# LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION XXXI, 1878-79.

The first List was dated 23rd November, 1848; all whose names appeared in it are therefore Original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors or Sheriffs have their year of office attached.

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## A

℘. Dec. 12, 1872. ABRAM, W. A., 25, Alma street, Blackburn.

Feb. 22, 1877. Adshead, George Hayward, 9, Strawberry terrace, Pendleton, Manchester.

Nov. 23, 1848. *Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedale hall, Hawkshead, Windermere.

Jan. 12, 1871. Andrews, Frank, Apsley House, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Dec. 4, 1856. Ansdell, John, St. Helens.

Nov. 23, 1848. Ansdell, Richard, R.A., Lytham house, St. Alban's road, Kensington, London, W.

H.S. Ches., 1857. *Atkinson, William*, Southport.

Dec. 13, 1877. *Atherton, W., 33, The Temple, Dale street.

℘. Dec. 13, 1877. Axon, W. E. A., F.R.S.L., Bank cottage, Barton-on-Irwell, near Manchester.

## B

Nov. 2, 1865. *BAILEY, F. J., L.R.C.P., 51, Grove street, VICE-PRESIDENT.

℘. Dec. 14, 1876. Bailey, J. Eglinton, F.S.A., Egerton villa, Stretford, Manchester.

Apr. 20, 1876. Bartle, Rev. Geo., D.D., The College, Freshfield.

Feb. 20, 1879. Barton, Richard, West Leigh Lodge, Leigh, near Manchester.

Mar. 6, 1862. *Bazley, Sir Thomas, Bart.*, M.P., Manchester, and Reform Club, London, S.W.

*p.* Dec. 6, 1849. BEAMONT, WILLIAM, Orford Hall, Warrington, VICE-PRESIDENT.

Nov. 23, 1848. *Bell, Henry, Greenfield, West Kirby, Birkenhead.

Feb. 4, 1875. *Bellew, Thomas A., 5, Huntly road, Elm park.

*p.* Dec. 1, 1864. *BENAS, B. L., 5, South Castle street, and 74, Upper Parliament street.

Nov. 23, 1848. *Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's buildings, and Heysham Tower, near Lancaster.

Mar. 7, 1850. Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescot.

Nov. 23, 1848. *Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell hall, Great Crosby

Dec. 15, 1853. Bossi, Arthur, (Melly, Forget and Co.,) Rumford street.

*p.* Nov. 23, 1848. *Boult, Joseph, F.R.I.B.A., Exchange buildings, and Parkfield road, Aigburth.

Dec. 13, 1877. Boulton, T. W., Stamford house, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Apr. 15, 1858. *Bower, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry, and Seaforth.

*p.* Dec. 6, 1855. Bowes, John, Ph.D., F.R.G.S., Warrington.

Mar. 23, 1871. *Brakell, T. F., 58, Dale street, and Warwick villas, Bentley road.

Mayor of Liverpool, 1848-49. Bramley-Moore, John, Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Gerard's Cross, Bucks.

Dec. 30, 1854. Brent, Francis, Custom house, and 19, Clarendon place, Plymouth.

*p.* Mar. 9. 1854. *Bright, Henry Arthur, A.M., Ashfield, Knotty Ash.

Apr. 20, 1876. *BROMLEY, JAMES, The Homestead, Lathom, near Ormskirk.

May 3, 1849. Brooke, Henry, Ashbrook hall, Church Minshull, Middlewich.

Mar. 6, 1851. *Brooke, Sir Richard, Bart.*, Norton priory, Runcorn.

Feb. 6, 1868. *Brooks, William Cunliffe*, M.P., Barlow hall, near Manchester.

Apr. 4, 1872. *Broughton, Frederick*, Hamilton, Canada.

Mar. 4, 1875. *Brown, Alexander, M.P., Richmond Hill, Liverpool, and Grosvenor gardens, London.

## C

Jan. 9, 1879. *Caraher, Hugh, 51, Vine street.

Sept. 5, 1872. Chadwick, David, M.P., 2, Moorgate street, London.

Sept. 5, 1872. *Chester, The Lord Bishop of*, The Palace, Dee Side, Chester.

Dec. 10, 1874. *Clark, Henry, Little hey, Bromborough, and C 7, Exchange buildings.

April 14, 1859. *Clement, Leonard*, Nelson-in-Marsden, near Burnley.

*p.* Dec. 13, 1877. *Cochrane, Rev. J. H. D., M.A., Claughton, Birkenhead.

Dec. 11, 1873. Cockayne, Andreas E., Congleton.

*p.* May 24, 1855. ***Comber, Thomas**, B 13, Exchange buildings.

Mar. 4, 1858. *Crawford and Balcarres, Right Hon. the Earl of*, Haigh hall, Wigan.

Dec. 6, 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Oaklands, Aigburth.

Nov. 23, 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe Hill, Chorley.

May 2, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., Cavendish place, All Saints, Manchester.

April 4, 1872. Crossley, John, Briar's hey, Rainhill.

## D

*p.* May 2, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Eng., 26, Rodney street.

April 23, 1857. *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of*, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.

*p.* Dec. 11, 1873. Dixon, James, F.R.H.S., Ormskirk.

Mar. 9, 1871. *Dod, Joseph, 37, Cheapside, Dale street, and Bebington.

E

*p.* Dec. 11, 1873. EARWAKER, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Withington, near Manchester.
April 4, 1872. Ebury, The Right Hon. Lord, Park street, Grosvenor square, London, and Moor Park, Rickmansworth, Herts.
Mar. 6, 1862. *Edwards, Edward, Adelaide buildings, Chapel street, and Holly lodge, Fairfield.
Jan. 7, 1851. *Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham*, M.P., Rosthern hall, Knutsford.
Mar. 6, 1862. *Egerton of Tatton, Rt. Hon. the Lord*, Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire, Tatton park, Knutsford.
*p.* Nov. 23, 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey*, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley.
Dec. 10, 1874. *Espin, the Worshipful and Rev. T. E., B.D., Chancellor of Chester, The Rectory, Wallasea.
Nov. 23, 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.
Jan. 11, 1872. *Evans, Reginald, 56, Hanover street.
Sept. 5, 1872. Evans, Joseph, Haydock Grange, St. Helens.

F

Feb. 20, 1879. *Fingland, W., High street, Wavertree.
Jan. 10, 1878. Fairclough, J., Warrington.
Jan. 10, 1878. Farish, W., Chester.
ffarington, Miss, Worden hall, Preston.
Jan. 12, 1871. *Ferguson, Wm.*, F.E.S.
April 15, 1858. *FORREST, J. A., 58, Lime street, and 5, Charlesville, Claughton, Birkenhead.
Jan. 11, 1877. *Fownes, Frederick J., Lord street.
May 7, 1857. *Frackelton, Rev. S. S.*, A.M., Magherahamlet, Ballynahinch, Ireland.
Dec. 15, 1853. *Franks, Augustus Woollaston*, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.

G

Dec. 14, 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial bldgs., 34, Dale st., and Beechfield, Croxteth rd.

April 19, 1877. Gardiner, Capt. Frederick Walker, Derby street, Ormskirk.

Jan. 7, 1875. *Garnett, Wm.*, Quernmore park, Lancaster.

Nov. 23, 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, The Albany, Oldhall street.

*p.* Dec. 9, 1875. *GATTY, CHARLES T., 18, Pelham grove, Sefton pk., & Mayer Museum, HON. SECRETARY.

April 7, 1870. Geddes, D., Free Library, Blackburn.

April 11, 1867. †*Genn, John Hawke, The Custom House.

*p.* Feb. 4, 1875. *GIBSON, J. HARRIS, 73, Renshaw street, HON. CURATOR.

*p.* Apr. 17, 1879. Gibson, Rev. T. E., 6, Crosby road, Birkdale, Southport.

*p.* Nov. 5, 1863. *GIBSON, THOMAS, Senr., 51, Oxford street.

Feb. 8, 1877. *Gilmour, H. B., Fulwood park, Aigburth.

Mar. 6, 1862. *Gladstone, Right Hon. Wm. Ewart*, M.P., Harley street, London, and Hawarden Castle, Flintshire.

Apr. 17, 1873. Gratrix, Samuel, Alport Town, Deansgate, Manchester.

Dec. 4, 1862. *Green, John Henry*, 8, Weighton road, Anerley, Surrey.

Aug. 31, 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.

Jan. 10, 1878. Grundy C. S., Manchester.

H

Dec. 10, 1874. *HANCE, E. W. M., LL.B., L.C.P., School Board office, Dale st., HON LIBRARIAN.

*p.* Mar. 6, 1856. Hardwick, Chas., 74, Halston street, Hulme, Manchester.

Dec. 13, 1877. *Harrison, James, The Laund, Wallasea.

Feb. 9, 1864. *Harrowby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor Square, London.

Apr. 23, 1857. *Hartington, Most Hon. the Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.

Dec. 8, 1864. Heald, Thomas, Greenfield, Billinge, Wigan.

Feb. 8, 1877. Heginbotham, Henry, M.R.C.S.E., F.R.G.S., Stockport.

Nov. 23, 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.

Sep. 5, 1872. *Hinmers, W.*, Cleveland house, Lancaster road, Eccles, Manchester.

Jan. 12, 1871. Hirst, John, Dobcross, Saddleworth, near Manchester.

Jan. 12, 1860. *Holden, Adam, 48, Church street.

Dec. 18, 1856. *Holden, Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.

Jan. 11, 1872. *Holme, James, 10, Huskisson street.

Sep. 24, 1854. *Holt, William D., Sandfield pk., Stoneycroft.

Feb. 10, 1876. *Horley, Rev. E.*, The Rectory, Sephton.

Sep. 5, 1872. *Hornby, T. D., 3, Brunswick street, and Druid's cross, Wavertree.

Dec. 4, 1856. *Howell, Edward, 26, Church street.

Mayor Lancaster, 1849-50. } Howitt, Thomas, Lancaster.

*p.* Nov. 8, 1849. **Howson, Very Rev. John Saul**, D.D., The Deanery, Chester, PRESIDENT.

*p.* Dec. 10, 1857. *Hughes, John R., 17, Tower chambers.

Apr. 6, 1854. Hughes, Thomas, F.S.A., The Groves, Chester.

Mayor Chester, 1851-52. } Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Glan-y-Wern, Denbigh.

*p.* Nov. 23, 1848. †***Hume, Rev. Canon**, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.Soc. North. Antiq. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., M.R.I.A., Member of the Philological Society, and of the English Dialect Society, Hon. Mem. Soc. Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, All Souls' Vicarage, Rupert lane.

Feb. 10, 1870. Hyde, John, F.R.S.L., F.R.H.S., 84, George's street, Cheetham hill, Manchester.

## J.

Apr. 1, 1852. *JACOB, JOHN GIBBORN, 56, Church street, TREASURER.

Feb. 18, 1875. *Jackson, William Leach, 42, Rupert lane,

Dec. 5, 1861. Jackson, William, Fleatham house, St. Bees.

Nov. 23, 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton hall, Preston.

May 3, 1849. *Jones, Morris Charles, F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., 20, Abercromby square, and Gungrog, Welshpool.

Dec. 2, 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.

K

*p.* May 3, 1849. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington.
Nov. 5, 1863. *King, John Thomson, Clayton square.
Dec. 4, 1862. *King, Col. Vincent Ashfield, Point of Ayr, Oxton.

L

Dec. 14, 1876. *Laird, John, Oak house, Grosvenor road, Oxton, and 93, Church street, Birkenhead.
Sep. 5, 1872. **Ledward, Septimus*, The Albany, Oldhall street, and Hill Bark, Frankby.
Nov. 23, 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, High Legh, Knutsford.
Dec. 1, 1859. *Legh, Captain W. J.*, M.P., Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.
Livesey, Lucilla C., 57, Sefton terrace, Prince's park.

M

Mar. 6, 1862. McCorquodale, Colonel Geo., The Willows, Newton-le-Willows.
Apr. 15, 1858. *McInnes, J., 23, Lightbody street.
*p.* June 5, 1851. Marsh, John Fitchett, Hardwick House, Chepstow.
Dec. 1, 1864. Marson, James, Hill Cliff, Warrington.
Sept. 5, 1872. *Mason Hugh*, Ashton-under-Lyne.
Feb. 18, 1874. *Mawdsley, James P., 4, Castle street, and 36, Falkner square.
*p.* Nov. 23, 1848. †***Mayer, Joseph***, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S., F.R.Soc. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Associé etranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquairies de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., Normandie, l'Oûest, la Morinie, d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., Bebington, VICE-PRESIDENT.
Mar. 20, 1876. *Mercer, T. W., 110, Canning street.
Dec. 3, 1857. MOORE, REV. RICHARD R., A.M., Cropper's hill, St. Helen's.
*p.* Nov. 8, 1849. Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Midleton College, County of Cork.
*p.* Nov. 23, 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James*, LL.D., East Lydford Rectory, Somerset.

Apr. 4, 1872. *Moss, Sir Thomas Edwards, Bart., Otterspool.
Dec. 11, 1856. Myres, John James, 26, Glover's court, Preston.

N

H.S. Ches., 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton hall, Chester.
Dec. 10, 1874. Nicholson, Edward Joseph, Thelwall lea, Warrington.
Nov. 23, 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.
Sep. 5, 1872. Norreys, R. H., J.P., D.L., Davy-Hulme hall, Manchester.
Feb. 7, 1878. Nicholson R., Southport.

P

*p.* Jan. 12, 1871. Paterson, James, Warrington.
Feb. 9, 1871. Pearson, John E., Golborne park, near Newton-le-Willows.
Dec. 11, 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, 9, Queen's gate, Prince Albert road, South Kensington, London, S.
Mar. 21, 1860. *Petty, Thomas Shaw*, Stockbridge, Ulverston.
*p.* Jan. 6, 1849. *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Queen bldgs., Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree.
Dec. 13, 1877. Pierpoint, Robert, Windham club, St. James's square, London.
Nov. 23, 1848. Pilkington, James, Park place house, Blackburn.
Feb. 10, 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.
Feb. 7, 1878. *Potter, Charles, 101, Miles street, Toxteth park.
Mar. 12, 1857. *Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert, 13, Vernon st., Dale st., and Belmont house, Belmont rd.

R

Jan. 9, 1879. *Radcliffe, R. D., Darley, Old Swan.
Dec. 10, 1874. *Rathbone, S. G., Yew Tree house, Allerton.
*p.* Dec. 29, 1854. Rees, William, 66, Carter street, Greenheys, Manchester.

Feb. 25, 1873. *RICHARDS, W. H., Mellor's buildings, Exchange street East.
Feb. 22, 1877. Ridgway, T. J., Wildersmoor house, Lymm.
April 20, 1876. Rigby, John, 21, Market street, Bury.
Dec. 20, 1855. Robin, Rev. P. R., A.M., Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
Dec. 10, 1874. *Rogerson, George R., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., 5, Cook street.
April 20, 1876. Roper, William O., Lancaster.
*p.* Nov. 3, 1870. RYLANDS, JOHN PAUL, F.S.A., Highfields, Thelwall, near Warrington.
Sept. 25, 1854. Rylands, Peter, M.P., Massey hall, near Warrington, and 78, Great George's square, London, S.W.
*p.* Dec. 13, 1854. Rylands, Thos. Glazebrook, F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., Highfields, Thelwall, near Warrington.
Dec. 10, 1874. Rylands, William Harry, Society of Biblical Archæology, 33, Bloomsbury street, London, W.C.

S

Mar. 21, 1872. *Salisbury, Most Noble the Marquess of,* Hatfield, Herts.
Dec. 10, 1874. ***Salthouse, Rev. Robt.,** F.R.G.S., St. James' parsonage, West Derby.
Dec. 6, 1855. *Sandbach W. R., Bank buildings, Cook street, and The Cottage, Aigburth.
Sept. 5, 1872. *Sefton, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, Sefton house, Belgrave square, London, and Croxteth hall.
June 2, 1853. *Sharp, William,* 29, Albert gate, Hyde park, London.
Nov. 23, 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel,* A.M., Kingston house, Chester.
April 4, 1872. Skelmersdale, The Right Hon. Lord, Lathom house, Ormskirk.
*p.* April 16, 1863. †Smith, Henry Ecroyd, Saffron Walden, Essex.
Dec. 10, 1874. Standish, Rev. Robert, B.A., Newton-le-Willows.
Jan. 3, 1856. *Staniforth, Rev. Thomas,* M.A., Storrs, Windermere.

Feb. 5, 1863. Steele, Alexander, Sen., LL.D., Strathallan hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.

Feb. 7, 1878. Steele, Alexander, Jun., Strathallan hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.

Smith, E. W. B., Sec. District Co-operative Society, Bury.

April 6, 1876. *Stewart, Rev. Alex., M.A., 29, Sandon street.

Mar. 4, 1852. *Sykes, James, 115, Dale street, 78, Rodney street, and Breck house, Poulton-le-Fylde.

T

Sept. 5, 1872. *Taylor, James*, Whitby hall, Wigan.

Jan. 17, 1867. *Thorp, Henry*, Chatham mills, Lower Ormond street, Manchester.

*p.* Dec. 8, 1851. *Tinne, John A., F.R.G.S., Briarley, Aigburth.

Jan. 8, 1852. *Torr, John, M.P., Exchange buildings, and Carlett park, Eastham.

Mar. 6, 1879. Turner, Col. William, Broncerns, Carnarvon, N.W.

V

Nov. 23, 1848. *Varty, Thomas*, Stag-stones, Penrith.

*p.* Dec. 16, 1869. Vaudrey, Benjamin Llewellyn, Tushingham hall, Whitchurch.

April 4, 1872. Vaudrey, Rev. D., Darley Rectory, Matlock.

Dec. 12, 1872. Veevers, R. Woningworth, Fulwood park, Preston.

W

*p.* Dec. 11, 1873. Waddington, W. A., Piccadilly road, Burnley.

Jan. 10, 1878. Walmsley, J. H., Salford, Manchester.

Dec. 12, 1867. *Walmsley, Gilbert G., 50, Lord street.

Mar. 6, 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire.

*p.* Dec. 5, 1861. *Waterhouse, Nicholas, Durning road.

*p.* Dec. 13, 1877. *Watkin, W. T., 39, Plumpton street, Everton.

Feb. 1, 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Overchurch hill, Upton.

*p.* Jan. 3, 1856. *Welton, Thomas A.*, F.S.S., 6, Offerton road, London, S.W.

Mar. 13, 1862. Westminster, His Grace the Duke of, 33, Upper Grosvenor street, London, and Eaton hall, Chester.

Feb. 6, 1873. *Whiteman, James Walter, 55, Church street.

Oct. 9, 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Newton-le-Willows.

Wilbraham, Hon. Adela M. Bootle, Blyth hall, Ormskirk.

Feb. 14, 1861. Wilson, J. M., Hardshaw street, St. Helens.

Mar. 7, 1850. *Winmarleigh, Rt. Hon. Lord,* Winmarleigh, Garstang.

Dec. 7, 1865. *Wood, R. H.,* F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Corr. Mem. Soc. Antiq. de Normandie, Penrhos house, Rugby.

May 7, 1855. *Woodhouse, John George,* Burg hill, Hereford.

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Sept. 13, 1870. Tyndall, John, LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Professor of Nat. Philos. Royal Institution, Albemarle street, London.

*p.* Jan. 20, 1870. Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie E. C., B.D., F.S.A., &c., Præcentor and Prebendary of Chichester, 58, Belgrave road, London, S.W.

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# TRANSACTIONS.

## THE SHIELDS OF ARMS FORMERLY IN THE WINDOWS OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF LYMM, COUNTY CHESTER, AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ORIGIN OF SEVERAL LOCAL COATS-OF-ARMS.*

*By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.*

(Read 20th February, 1879.)

IN most of the Cheshire, and in many of the Lancashire, churches, before the great rebellion, when the windows were broken and the monuments defaced, there existed many very beautiful windows of painted glass, containing the figures of the local gentry and their wives, with their shields of arms and monumental inscriptions. These were particularly noticeable in Warrington Church, and in the churches of Wilmslow, Bowdon, and Gawsworth. Indeed, in Gawsworth Church every window must have been literally filled with armorial glass, and on the walls between the windows were representations of the heraldic insignia of many local families. The effect of this great quantity of stained glass must have been very striking; and, whilst serving the purpose of decoration, these armorial windows also recorded facts which, thanks to the persons who copied the arms and inscriptions before they were destroyed, have been, and will be, of great service to modern genealogists and local historians.

* The writer is much indebted to Wm. Langton, Esq., for a number of valuable suggestions since this paper was in type.

The arms in the windows of Lymm Church, when they were copied, were few in number; it is not possible, therefore, to illustrate more than to a very small extent the value of old shields of arms as helps to the elucidation and illustration of local family history. But, if we cannot use the old Lymm shields to point out some new fact in local genealogy, they can at least be made to shew that they record the former existence and alliances of several gentle families, long since forgotten in the every-day world in the very district in which they lived, and also to illustrate how certain coats-of-arms originated from others, and how our ancestors made their shields and standards bear silent testimony to their descent from some ancestor whose lands they inherited, or of whose actions they had reason to be proud.

In 1580 and 1592 notes were taken of the arms in the Lymm Church windows, both being probably made by Thomas Chaloner (he certainly made those in 1592), and they seem to have been copied by his friend Randle Holme, of Chester, as they appear in Holme's collections in almost the same words as in Chaloner's. These memoranda, which consist of descriptions and rude drawings, are preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

The Randle Holme family is one well known; but before proceeding to describe the arms, it may be well to give the following brief account of Chaloner and his family, from Mr. Foote Gower's *Materials for a New History of Cheshire*, printed in 1771.

"Our succeeding, or rather still contemporary, collectors form "a family Harmonic Trio; a father, son, and grandson of the "surname of Chaloner, and of the several Christian names, "Thomas, Jacob, and James. Thomas was an arms painter in "Chester about 1594; he knew the value of learning sufficiently "to give his son a better education than he had received himself. "And this son followed the same occupation in Chester, and "made collections about the year 1620. But it was James, the "grandson, who reflected the greatest credit upon his family, by "a very concise, accurate, and sensible account of the Isle of

"Man, printed at the end of King's Vale Royal in 1656. . . . .
"The Antiquarian Collections of all three are valuable."

The notes preserved in the Harleian MSS. are as follow, and are printed in italics, the words in ordinary type being necessary additions.

HARL. MS., 2151, FO. 76.

*Lymme Church, 1580 and 1592.*

*In sevral places of the said church are these coates of arms.*

*Drawings* of seven shields of arms, of which the following are descriptions:—

I.—Two chevrons and on a canton a mullet for *Modburley.*

II.—Gules a pale fusilly argent, for *Lymme.*

III.—Azure a bend or, for *Grosvenor.*

IV.—Argent six lioncels rampant 3, 2 and 1, sable for *Sauage.*

V.—Quarterly, first and fourth grand quarters, gules a pale fusilly argent for *Lymme;* second and third grand quarters quarterly, 1st and 4th quarterly argent and sable, a cross patonce counterchanged, within a bordure or, for *Eaton alias Hawardyn*, 2nd and 3rd argent a wolf passant sable, for *Wolston.* Underneath this drawing is written:—*in other places Eatons coate with the ermine border.*

VI.—Quarterly first and fourth grand quarters, quarterly, 1st and 4th, *Eaton* or *Hawardyn* as above; 2nd and 3rd, *Wolston* as above; second and third grand quarters, *Lymme* as above, but with a label of three points azure. Underneath this drawing is written:—*Hawardyne coate thus Impaled* [*i.e.*, quartered] *without any ermine border as . . . . Mr. Woodnoth's booke of church notes menconeth.*

VII.—Quarterly, first and fourth, argent, an ass's head erased sable, in chief a crescent of the last, for *Hocknell of Prenton;* second, argent, on a bend sable three spear heads of the field, for *Prentton;* third, sable three crescents, 2 and 1, argent, for *Gleave.* CREST: On a wreath, a stag's head argent, attired or, transfixed through the nose with an arrow of the last, feathered of the first.

HARL. MS. 2129, FO. 42.

*In the p'ish Church of Lymme Co. Cestr. 1592 p'. T. Chaloner.*

1. *In a windowe standith A* [argent] *2* ⋀ [two chevrons] *g.* [gules] *on a canton g.* [gules] *a* [drawing of a mullet] *or, for Fitton & is gausworth cote.*

2. *In an other window g.* [gules] *a pale fusuley A.* [argent] *for Lymme.*

3. *In an other b* [azure] *a* \ [bend] *or for Grosvenor.*

4. *In an other Savage.*

5. *In an other Lymme.*

6. *Hocknell of Prenton, S.* [sable] *a horse head eras.* [erased] *sa* [sable] [drawing of a crescent] *o.* [or.]; *2 cote, A.* [argent] *on a* \ [bend] *s.* [sable] *3 speare heads ar.* [argent] *for Printon; 3 cote Sable 3* [drawing of a crescent] *A.* [argent] *for Gleaue. Crest a buck heade eras. attired Or shott throgh nose wth an arrow pp.* [proper].

7. *A drawing* of the quartered shield described above, No. V.

There is another account of these arms in Harl. MS. 2120 fo. 1, which is a copy of Chaloner's notes taken in 1592.

We have then to deal with seven coats of arms, which are respectively called :—

**a.** "Modburley," or "Fitton & is Gausworth cote."

**b.** "Lymme."

**c.** "Grosvenor."

**d.** "Savage."

**e.** The quartered coat marked V in Harl. MS. 2151, and apparently 5 in Harl. MS. 2129. (Hawarden.)

**f.** The quartered coat marked VI in the former and 7 in the latter. (Hawarden.)

**g.** "Hocknell of Prenton."

### a.—Modburley or Fitton.

Mobberley of Mobberley bore a very similar coat to this, but the canton was charged with a cross-crosslet fitché or, whereas in this the canton is charged with a mullet.

By "Fitton & is Gausworth cote," Chaloner meant Fitton of Gawsworth, who bore the arms of Orreby of Gawsworth. In 1316-17 Thomas Fitton, younger son of Edmund Fitton of Bolyn, in Wilmslow parish, married Isabel, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Orreby of Gawsworth. (Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, I, 50.) But the coat is neither Fitton's nor Orreby's, though it closely resembles the latter (Argent two chevrons and a canton gules). It is really the well-known *ancient* coat of the Warburtons of Arley, still quartered by that family, and appears on the seals of—

Sir Geoffrey de Werburton, senior, 1347—1359.
Sir Geoffrey de Werburton, junior, 1359—1383.
Peter de Werburton..... 1412.
Sir Geoffrey de Werburton, son of Peter... 1446.

The canton was occasionally charged with a trefoil slipped, and so appears on the seal of Sir Geoffrey* in 1383, but the trefoil was probably regarded only as a temporary difference.

That this coat, as well as the Mobberley one, was founded upon that of Orreby is extremely probable, and it seems likely that there was some connection between the Orrebys and the Duttons before the latter took the name of Warburton; but it is not my intention in this paper to attempt a history of the Warburton arms, for the subject seems of sufficient interest for a separate paper.

The connection of the Warburton family with Lymm Church is proverbial; for we have the proverb

"As ill to part as Lymm from Warburton,"

spoken of two things which ought always to be together.†

The Warburtons have been patrons of a moiety of Lymm Church from a very remote period, as may be seen in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* and other works.

* Mr. Beamont's *Engravings of Local Seals.*

† When the present proprietor, Mr. Dewhurst, purchased the mediety of Lymm attached to Warburton, the technical difficulties which arose in accomplishing the transfer verified the force of the old proverb. (Mr. Langton.)

### b.—Limme.

The arms of the family of Limme of Lymm, anciently borne by the West Hall Branch of the Leghs of High Legh, and the foundation of the arms of the families of Danyers, of Bradley Hall in Appleton, (and their descendants the Daniells of Tabley, and the Daniells of Daresbury;) the Savages of Clifton, and also possibly the foundation of the coat of arms attributed to the Hawardens.

AGNES DE LEGH, daughter and heiress of Richard de Legh of High Legh, had three husbands:—

1. RICHARD DE LIMME, younger son of Hugh de Limme, who took the name of Legh after his marriage, and bore for arms *Gules a pale fusilly argent.* The seal of Thomas de Legh, son of Richard and Agnes, exhibits these arms. This seal is engraved in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire.* At a later period, the Leighs of the West Hall in High Leigh had *Or a lion rampant gules* assigned to them as their arms.

2. WILLIAM DE HAWARDYN, who is said to have borne *Argent a bend fusilly sable*, a coat possibly founded on that of Limme, but I have not met with any early example of this bearing. William and Agnes had a son, Ralf de Hawardyn, reputed ancestor of the Hawardens of Hawarden, co. Flint, and Woolston co. Lancashire.

3. WILLIAM VENABLES, of Bradwall, whose son John took the name of Legh, but bore the Venables arms *Azure two bars argent* differenced by *a bend gules.* From this marriage descended the following families:—

*Legh of Booths*, who bore the coat just described.*

*Legh of Baguley*, who changed the red bend into a black one.

*Legh of Adlington*, who ultimately bore the Venables coat, with *a bend over all counter compony or and gules.*†

*Legh of Isall, Cumberland*, who bore *Azure two bars or, over all a bend counter compony of the last and gules.* (Visitation of Cumberland.)

* Ormerod. † Shields at Adlington Hall, &c.

*Legh of Beechton*, who retained the red bend, but charged it with *three pheons argent.**

*Legh of Lyme*, who bore *Gules a cross engrailed argent*, which will be explained hereafter.†

*Legh of Bruche*, who bore *Azure two bars argent, in chief three coronets or, over all a bend counter compony of the last and gules*, granted by Sir William Dugdale in 1664.

*Legh of Ridge*, who bore the Lyme coat with a *black mullet* on the cross.‡

*Leigh of Stockwell*, who bore the Lyme coat within *a bordure engrailed argent.*‡

Agnes de Legh had, by her first husband, Richard de Limme *alias* Legh, as well as the son Thomas de Legh already referred to, a daughter of her own name, (who would bear for arms her father's and her brother's coat *Gules a pale fusilly argent.*) This Agnes de Legh, junior, was married to William Danyers, or De Anyers, and their son Thomas Danyers changed the colours of the arms borne by his mother's family, and bore *Argent a pale fusilly sable.* Thomas Danyers, the son, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Adam de Tabley, was the father of Sir Thomas Danyers, who distinguished himself at the Battle of Crecy, by relieving the standard of Edward the Black Prince when he was hard pressed by the enemy, and taking prisoner the Count de Tankerville, chamberlain to the French King. These services were rewarded by a grant, which was replaced, after Sir Thomas's death, by a grant of Lyme to his daughter Margaret and her husband Piers Legh. Long after this time, in commemoration of Sir Thomas Danyers' gallant conduct, the Leghs of Lyme had granted to them, as an augmentation, *On an inescocheon sable semée of estoiles, an arm embowed in armour, elbow downwards, the hand proper holding a bannersilver.*

The moat which still all but surrounds Bradley Hall is in a wonderful state of preservation. The present Bradley Hall is a small farm house erected within the last fifty years, but is

* Ormerod. † Seals, &c. ‡ Burke's Armory.

interesting, as it stands upon the site of the house to which Sir Thomas retired after the battle of Crecy, and where he probably died. Sir John Danyers of Grappenhall, brother to Sir Thomas, was also a soldier, and had a grant from the crown; he bore for arms *Argent on a pile fusilly* (a pale became a pile in early heraldry when drawn on a long pointed shield) *sable a cross-crosslet fitché of the field*, and these arms appear on his seal.*

Another differenced Danyers coat, *Argent a pale fusilly sable within a bordure bendy sinister of the first and second*, was formerly in one of the windows of Daresbury Church, along with shields of Dutton, Norres, Tabley (*Argent a chevron between three ducks sable*), Danyers (the plain coat undifferenced), and Warburton ancient). Another Danyers seal is differenced by a bendlet, in 1359.

On the death of Sir Thomas, his daughter Margaret became his sole heiress: she had three husbands.

1. Sir John Radcliffe, who had not any issue by her.

2. Sir John Savage of Clifton, by whom she had a son, John Savage. It was to this John that his mother, then the wife of Piers Legh, sealing the document with the arms of Legh and Danyers impaled (see plate), granted the Danyers arms in 1415; and this coat, without any difference, as well as the white unicorn's head, the crest of Sir Thomas Danyers, was borne by the Savages until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when they had granted to them *Argent, six lioncels rampant, three, two and one, sable*, with a lion's jamb issuant from a ducal coronet for their crest.

The grant† was made in the form following:—

"*A tous cieux qui Cestes l'res*‡ *verront ou orront Margareta que "fut la femme de Jean Savage fille et heire A Thomas Daniers ch'r*§ "*salut en dieu Saches que moy auoir donne et grante et p' Ceste ma "presente Charte confirme a John Sauage mon fitz aisne et a ses*

* MS. Pedigree. On other seals of Sir John Danyers' the coat is without any difference, and is surmounted by the horse's or unicorn's head.

† From a MS. volume lent to me by my friend Mr. Earwaker, F.S.A.

‡ Lettres. § Chevalier.

"*heires a tous iours mes Armes entiers que a moy descenderont*
"*apres le mort de le dit Thomas mon pere comme a sa fille et heire.*
"*A auoir tener et porter lez ditz Armes ove* toutz leures appʳtenances*
"*et tout ceo† que a ditz armes apartient en Chascun maniere lieu a*
"*leur plaisir quil tiennet de moy et mes heires au dit John mon fitz*
"*et a sez heires a tous iours. En tesmoinaige de quelle chose a Cest*
"*ma presente Charte Jay mis mon sealle donne le dimanche procheine*
"*apres la feste del translacon de Seint Thomas le Martier Lan de*
"*Reigne le Roy Henry quint puis le Conquest tierce.*"

SEAL: An impaled shield of Legh and Danyers.‡

After the death of her second husband, Sir John Savage, to whose son the grant of arms was made, Margaret married Piers Legh, younger son of Robert Legh of Adlington, her kinsman;§ The Leghs of Adlington at this time seem to have borne the arms of de Corona, a family whose heiress Peter's ancestor had married; or, if they did not bear the Corona coat pure and simple, they bore a close approximation to it. The Corona coat was *Azure a chevron between three coronets or*, and the Adlington Leghs are reputed to have borne *Azure a plate between three coronets or, all within a bordure argent.* In later times they had assigned to them by the heralds *the Venables coat with a bend compony or and gules.*

Piers Legh being a younger son, left the arms used by his elder brother, and took those of his mother, Matilda de Norley, *Gules a cross engrailed*, and his descendants bore this with various marks of cadency.

The Leghs of the West Hall, High Legh, were patrons of a moiety of Lymm Church, hence their arms were placed in the windows.

### c.—Grosvenor.

The ancient arms of the Grosvenors of Eaton, near Chester, borne by them before 1389, when, after the celebrated Scrope

* Avec. † Choses. ‡ See the plate.
§ He was descended from Agnes de Legh's third husband.

and Grosvenor trial, the arms *Azure a bend or* were awarded to the Scropes, and the Grosvenors had assigned to them the golden wheat sheaf on a blue field, borne by their descendant the present Duke of Westminster. This pane of glass must, from the period at which the trial took place, have been very ancient.

### d.—Savage.

Chaloner, in his notes, does not say what these arms were. Holme distinctly states that the shield displayed the six lions rampant already referred to. It is almost certain, however, that Holme was wrong in his statement, and that the coat was really *Argent, a pale fusilly sable*, and commemorated some member of the Danyers family, of Bradley Hall, near Lymm, or possibly one of the Savages of Clifton. My reason for supposing this to be the case is, that the coat of the six lions was only granted to the Savages in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it is much more probable that the older coat would appear in the church with the other old arms, even if a Savage, and not a Danyers, was intended to be commemorated.*

The origin of the Danyers or Savage coat has been already explained.

### e. and f.—Hawarden of Woolston, near Warrington.

These two shields, there cannot be any doubt, are intended for the arms of a Hawarden and his eldest son, but both the ancient and modern arms of the family are wanting, and in their place is the old Limme coat, borne by the first husband of the Hawardens' ancestress Agnes de Legh. The glass probably commemorates John Hawarden of Woolston, who married Helen Hulton, and their son, Adam Hawarden, who married Alice, daughter of William Norreys of Speke, and died 6th February, 1597, leaving seven daughters and coheiresses:—1, Anne Hawarden; 2, Elizabeth, wife of Alexander Standish of Standish;

* Mr. Langton suggests the possibility of the grant of the lioncels to Savage being a recognition of an ancient right, as the family was one of some distinction before the alliance with Danyers.

3, Jane, wife of Thomas Flower; 4, Margaret, wife of Richard Ashton of Bamfurlong; 5, Ellen, wife of Richard Standish, jun.; 6, Isabella, wife of Hugh Adlington; and 7, Clemence Hawarden.*

The transposed quartered quarter of Eaton and Woolston was brought into the Hawarden shield by the marriage of John Hawarden of Hawarden, co. Flint, (great great grandfather of Adam), with Annabel, daughter and sole heiress of Hugh Woolston of Woolston. (Visitation of Lancashire, 1567.) The black wolf of Woolston should, of course, come before the Eaton coat.

A much more correct armorial achievement of the family formerly existed in a window in the chancel of Warrington Church. The blazoning of this shield is:—*Quarterly 1st Argent, guttée de poix a fesse nebulé sable.* [Hawarden, modern.] *2nd, Argent, a bend fusilly sable.* [Hawarden, ancient; sometimes called Legh of High Legh, ancient.] *3rd, Gules, a pale fusilly argent.* [Lymme and Legh.] *4th, Quarterly 1st and 4th argent a wolf passant sable.* [Woolston of Woolston.] *2nd and 3rd, Quarterly argent and sable, a cross patonce counterchanged.* [Eaton.] This last quarter sometimes is given with a *bordure or*, and sometimes with *a bordure ermine.*

The close proximity of Lymm and Woolston would account for the appearance of the Hawarden arms in the Lymm windows: the family probably also held property on the Cheshire side of the Mersey.

### g.—Hockenhull of Prenton, in Wirral Hundred.

In Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* there is a good pedigree of this family. It was founded by the marriage of Henry Hockenhull, second son of John Hockenhull of Hockenhull, in Edisbury Hundred, with Agnes, daughter and heiress of Thomas Gleave of Prenton. "In the reign of Edward III, William de Prenton "was lord of this township. The Prentons terminated in a female "heir, who brought the manor in marriage to the Gleyves." (Ormerod.) It will be seen that in the Lymm window the

* Culcheth Deeds.

Gleave and Prenton quarters are transposed. The window was probably glazed about the time of Henry VII, but the connection of the Hockenhulls with Lymm is not clear.

I will now close my already too long account of these old panes of glass by expressing a hope that some other member of the Historic Society may find the subject of sufficient interest to induce him to investigate some of the doubtful points referred to in my paper, in order that more satisfactory results may be obtained.

# ROMAN MANCHESTER.

*By W. Thompson Watkin, Esq.*

(Read February 6th, 1879.)

SITUATED at the junction of a number of Roman roads, the Roman station of *Mancunium*, as it is called in the tenth Iter of Antoninus, or *Mamucium*, as it is called in the second Iter of the same author, must have been a place of considerable importance. But unlike the other two *castra* in the county which I have described to the Society (Lancaster and Ribchester), it has been, with the exception of a jealously-guarded small fragment of its wall, entirely obliterated from view. Warehouses, streets, and a canal occupy its site. It has been to antiquarians the key town to the Roman stations of the neighbourhood; no doubt as to its identity, unless that which has arisen from the difference in the orthography of the second and tenth Iters, having occurred. But this difference is more apparent than real, for the same thing occurs in the Antonine Itinerary with regard to other Romano-British towns. Thus, in the fifth Iter, we have a town between Lincoln and Doncaster called *Segelocum;* in the eighth Iter, the same place is distinctly called *Agelocum.* In the sixth Iter, we have a place between *Ratae* and *Margidunum* called *Verometum;* in the eighth Iter, the same place is called *Vernemetum.* In the same manner the *Legeolium* of the fifth Iter is the *Lagecium* of the eighth. There is no greater difference between the *Mamucium* of the second Iter and the *Mancunium* of the tenth, than in the examples I have quoted; and the distance from *Condate* being in each Iter the same, together with other evidence, there can be no doubt of their being one and the same place.

As to the position and dimensions of the *castrum*, we are obliged to rely upon earlier writers. In addition to the *castrum* proper, situate at Castle Field, there appears to have been a supporting and smaller outpost, on what is now called Camp Field. The former is described by Camden thus :—"In a neigh-"bouring park, belonging to the Earls of Derby, called *Alparc*, "I saw the foundation of an old square fort, which they call "*Mancastle*, where the river *Medloc* joins the Irwell. I will not "say that this was the ancient *Mancunium*, the compass of it is "so little ; but rather that it was some Roman station." He then describes an inscribed centurial stone which he saw there, and which I shall notice hereafter. (Gibson's Camden, p. 965.)

Dr. Stukeley, who visited Manchester about 160 years ago, says—"A Roman *castrum* was on the west side, going for Chester "by Stretford, and on the northern bank of the river Medlock. "It is a small piece of level ground, somewhat higher than that "around it. It does not cover the whole piece, but is a square, "five hundred feet one way, four hundred the other ; nor can it "be said to be ditched about, but the ground beside it for some "distance is manifestly removed into the castle and spread along "its verge, not as a regular *vallum*, but sloping inwards ; by this "means the area of it is higher on the sides than in the middle, "and the exterior ground is lowered around to the foot of the "castle, which is steep like the side of the *vallum*. Upon this "edge there has been a wall quite round ; the foundations of it "are to be discovered almost everywhere, in some places large "parcels of it are left, but not above ground. Now they call it "the Castle Croft." He further adds that the Medlock ran near it, but not close enough for defence, and that the Irwell coming, the town ran on the west side of it, and there joined the Medlock. He says that it was a quarter of a mile from the then town of Manchester.

Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, also says that it was a quarter of a mile from the town.

But it is to the Rev. J. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, that we are indebted for the first clear account of the state of the

Roman *castrum* during the latter half of the last century. In the second edition of this work, (1773) vol. i, p. 45, he tells us that the wall of the *castrum* had a foundation of paving stones, (he evidently means boulders) bedded in clay. "This I ascertained "on opening the stationary wall in two parts of it. I cut it down "from the surface to the center (*sic*) and from the center to the "base, in order to see the curious construction of it within and "below, and found all the lime-laid parts in both, rising from two "layers of stones cemented with clay." At p. 46, he says—"But "the Roman walls at Manchester were not uniformly founded on "the same sort of cement. The western was laid on two beds "of blue clay, the lower nearly a foot in depth, and remarkably "stiff and solid. But the southern was laid in two courses, not "of actual clay, but of clay and sand incorporated together." On the same page, he says that the wall was seven or eight feet wide at the base, while at p. 49, he tells us that "the whole station "was an irregular parallelogram. The parallel sides were equally "right lines and equally long, but the corners were rounded." (This last feature occurs at most of the Roman stations in Britain.) He further says, that the Roman station had been built within a previous British entrenchment, and was much smaller. "And "while this contained nearly thirteen acres of our statute measure, "that included only about five acres and ten perches, or 24,500 "square yards." I am inclined to think that what Whitaker considered a British camp, was in reality only the suburban buildings of the Roman *castrum*, which had eventually an earthen entrenchment thrown up around them, or possibly a wall.

Mr. Whitaker then gives us the following interesting account of the then state of the *castrum*:—"The eastern side, like the "western, is an hundred and forty" [yards, w. t. w.] "in length, "and for eighty yards from the northern termination the nearly "perpendicular rampart still carries a crest of more than two in "height. It is then lowered to form the great entrance, the "*porta praetoria* of the camp; the earth there running in a ridge, "and mounting up to the top of the bank about ten in breadth. "Then rising gradually as the wall falls away, it carries an height

"of more than three for as many at the south-eastern angle. "And the whole of this wall bears a broken line of thorns above, "shews the morter (*sic*) peeping here and there under the coat of "turf, and, near the south-eastern corner, has a large buttress of "earth continued for several yards along it.

"The southern side, like the northern, is an hundred and "seventy-five in length. And the rampart sinking immediately "from its elevation at the eastern end successively declines till, "about fifty yards off, it is reduced to the inconsiderable height "of less than one. And about seventeen farther there appears "to have been a second gateway, the ground rising up to the "crest of the bank for four or five at the point. * * * One "on the south was particularly requisite * * in order to afford "a passage to the river. But about fifty-three yards beyond the "gate the ground betwixt both falling away briskly to the west, "the rampart, which continues in a right line along the ridge, "necessarily rises till it has a sharp slope of twenty in length at "the south-western angle. And all this side of the wall, which "was from the beginning probably not much higher than it is at "present, as it was sufficiently secured by the river and its banks "before it, appears crested at first with an hedge of thorns, a "young oak rising from the ridge and rearing its head consider- "ably over the rest, and runs afterwards in a smooth line nearly "level for several yards with the ground about it, and just per- "ceptible to the eye, in a rounded eminence of turf.

"At the south-western point of the camp the ground slopes "away on the west towards the south, as well as on the south "towards the west. And the third side still runs from it nearly "as at first, having an even crest about seven feet in height, an "even slope of turf for its whole extent, and the wall in all its "original condition below. About an hundred yards beyond the "angle was the *Porta Decumana* of the station, the ground visibly "rising up the ascent of the bank, in a large shelve of gravel, "and running in a slight but perceivable ridge from it.

"And beyond a level of forty-five yards, that still stretches on "for the whole length of the side, it was bounded by the western

"boundary of the British city," the sharp slope of fifty to the "morass below it.

"On the northern and remaining side are several chasms in "the original course of the rampart. And in one of them, about "an hundred and twenty-seven yards from its commencement, "was another gateway, opening into the station directly from the "road to Ribchester. The rest of the wall still rises about five "and four feet in height, planted all the way with thorns above, "and exhibiting a curious view of the rampart below. Various "parts of it have been fleeced of their facing of turf and stone, "and now shew the inner structure of the whole, presenting to "the eye the undressed stones of the quarry, the angular pieces "of rock and the round boulders of the river all bedded in the "morter and compacted by it into one. And the white and "brown patches of morter and stone, on a general view of the "wall, stand strikingly contrasted with the green turf that entirely "conceals the level line, and with the green moss that half reveals "the projecting points of the rampart.

"The great foss of the British city the Romans preserved along "their northern side, for more than thirty yards beyond the "eastern end of it, and for the whole beyond the western. And "as the present appearances of the ground intimate, they closed "the eastern point of it with an high bank, which was raised "upon one part of the ditch, and sloped away into the other."

The smaller fort or outpost was situate at the junction of the Irk, about a mile to the north of the *castrum*.

Dr. Stukeley mentions a gold coin of Otho having been found near the station, and a large Roman ring of gold found in Castle Field. (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 55.) In Baines' *History of Lancashire*, (2nd edit. vol. i, p. 268,) we find an abridged version from Whitaker of other discoveries, as follows:—"On the bank "of the *castrum* were found, about 1765, a number of Roman "urns, wrought earthen vessels, a fibula, and several coins, and "a Roman lachrymatory of black glass, half filled with liquid; "without the vallum, several urns and vessels, one inscribed "ADVOCISI" (a well known potter's mark) "on its outer limb,

"were found, and other coins and urns have since been dis-
"covered."

"As late as the year 1769," says Whitaker, "there was an arch
"appearing in the rampart of the Castle Field, a little to the west
"of the north-eastern angle, and the crown of it just rose above
"the ground."

Mr. Whitaker says, at p. 63, vol. i :—"But that large projection
"of the bank of the Medlock, which commences near the south-
"eastern and south-western points of the station, appears to have
"been applied to the most capital uses. Lying within the two
"angles of the camp, and forming an agreeable addition to it, it
"was naturally the site of all the offices. And in 1771 were here
"found some remains of buildings, which the nature of the con-
"struction and the discovery of coins equally marked to be
"Roman.

"A little to the west of the south-eastern angle, and directly
"opposite to the small bridge on the other side of the river, as
"the workmen were levelling the bank for a wharf, and proceeding
"to the east, they came to a large stone like the pedestal of a
"pillar, but all plane on the surface. It was about two feet nine
"inches across at the base, and gradually decreased upwards by
"four stages, as it were, of eight inches, three and a half, one and
"three quarters, and one and an half in length, to two feet three
"inches, two feet, and one foot nine. It was placed on a flooring
"seven or eight inches thick, which was made with pieces of soft
"red rock and bedded in clay. And it was nearly twenty-five
"yards distant from the present edge of the water.

"Eight feet immediately to the east of this was a building,
"equally with the stone about two below the surface of the
"ground, and floored with a Roman cement of morter and
"pounded brick. This was nine inches in thickness, and rested
"on a body of marle, about as many in depth. And the whole
"building was about twenty feet long and ten broad. Nine to
"the east of this was another flooring, two or three lower in the
"ground, and a cake of the same cement and thickness. It lay
"upon loose earth and was covered with flags. And the whole

"was about ten feet broad and thirty long. The exteriour wall of "both buildings was discovered on the northern side, running "parallel with the river. That of the former was about two feet "three inches in thickness, and that of the latter about four. This "rose about three high, and was formed of stones regularly drest, "the upper shallow and the lower deep. And, having extended "nearly in a right line about thirty feet, it then turned in a fair "angle and pointed towards the river. In the former building "was dug up only one flooring; but in the latter three. Below "the pavement described above, and in the loose earth on which "it lay, were found as the pillars of it large blocks of a mill-"stone grit and square tubes of strong tile. And the first floor-"ing lay on all these; the intervals between the tubes and blocks "being entirely filled up with earth. The latter were such as we "have noticed before in the British foundation at another end of "the field, and like them, I suppose, brought down by the floods "of the Medlock. And the former were about sixteen inches in "height and five in diameter, and filled up with morter that had "once been fluid. Three of these were found together, standing "erect, and two of them so formed with projections, as to make "a third by their union. And these and the earth all rested upon "a second flooring, another cake of the same cement, near two "feet in thickness, and lying upon a second bed of rubbish about "three in depth. In the body of this earth, which was covered "with the second flooring all unbroken and entire, were discovered "three or four regular pillars of flag and tile. The first was placed "about six feet to the south of the northerly wall, and the second "about seventeen inches to the south of that. Six feet eastward "was another; and about seventeen inches north of this were "some remains of a fourth. They were composed of a square "flag, then two layers of tile, each tile being about two inches "thick and eight square, and afterwards of flag and tile in four "layers alternately, all laid in morter and pounded brick. And "they rose from twenty-two to thirty-two inches in height, closely "surrounded on every side with loose earth; and lay as it lay "upon a third flooring made of pure and unmixed morter three

"inches in thickness, and having a layer of red sand below on "the natural ground.

"About a yard to the east of the more easterly building was "discovered a third, but all a mere mass of confusion. And in "the broken ruins of it were dug up, a couple of Roman coins, "and three round tubes of tile. These were found in the ground, "with their morter adhering to the outside of them, and each "about sixteen inches in length. They had plainly been formed "in molds, were hooped as it were with circles on the outside, "and narrowed from a diameter about four inches at one end, to "two at the other. And by this means they were calculated to "be, as they were found, each inserted into each and forming "one long pipe."

Whitaker thought that these buildings had formed the *cowstall, slaughter house, and larder* of the garrison! He apparently based this opinion upon the fact, that in one of them were found a quantity of bones of oxen and sheep in a heap. In another was found a knife of iron with a stag's horn handle; and in the most westerly room was the beam of a balance of brass, with a hook at one end. The beam was very slight, being only "capable of "weighing half-a-pound." There was found at the same time an iron chisel, fitted for a handle, which was in Mr. Whitaker's possession; and a number of tiles with round holes in them, and others with a bend for channels.

I take the beam he mentions to have been a steelyard, of which many examples have been found at Roman stations.

In the Watson MSS., preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the discovery of these buildings is alluded to. The passage is in fol. 57 of the MSS., and occurs in a letter from Dr. John Haysgarth, "a physician at Chester," to the Rev. J. Watson, dated Chester, August 12th, 1771, in which, after describing the discovery of a fine hypocaust at Chester, in Bridge Street, it is said:—"From this account you will, I doubt not, "agree with me that was found lately at Castlefield, Manchester, "is the dejecta (*sic*) membra of a Roman hypocaust. For 1st, "the floor is composed of exactly the same materials. Would it

"not be right to perforate the floor, in order to measure the "thickness, and see whether it is not laid on the solid rock? "2nd, The pillars were placed in rows, and are nearly of the "same length, shape, and thickness. 3rd, There are several "square tiles remaining, similar to those which are placed upon "the top of the pillars. 4th, The fragments of broken tile "collected from the rubbish, resemble entirely the roof of the "Chester hypocaust in thickness, especially in being perforated "with small round holes."

From this account it would seem that it was some suburban building, provided with a hypocaust in at least one of the rooms that had been laid bare.

Whitaker tells us that about the same time, "at the south-western projection," a large heap of round stones, as if collected in readiness for being discharged from *ballistae*, had been found.

The next discovery in the neighbourhood was that of a gold *bulla*, which was found in May, 1772, close to the second lock of the Irwell, and about two miles from Castle Field, in deepening the channel for the passage of the boats. It was buried about a foot deep in a ridge of gravel. In form it represented a segment of a circle, and was highly ornamented. A hollow tube ran along its upper border, for the purpose of holding a cord for suspension round the neck. Its intrinsic value was about twenty-three shillings. According to Whitaker, it found its way to the Leverian Museum, that unfortunate receptacle for so many Lancashire antiquities, which have never been heard of since its dispersion in 1806.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1789, p. 1185, Mr. G. Perry, in a letter dated from Manchester, December 12th, 1789, sends an account and drawings of some other relics found here. The two which are engraved (Pl. II, figs. 4 and 5) are of brass. One is the bust of a man apparently helmeted; it was "hollow in the inside, the workmanship and execution pretty "tolerable; the nails had probably been to fasten it to some-"thing, and were of copper." Mr. Perry suggested that it was a sword handle. The other was "the head and neck of a horse;"

from the bottom of the neck two paws project (as in a sphinx), and from the back of the neck are two wings outstretched. "They were found six feet below the ground, between two large "stones placed horizontally, with several large flat-bottomed brass "dishes, jammed into one another; but were most of them mere "rust. An urn was also found here some time ago, plain, "without any inscription, containing a silver coin of Trajan. "Several Roman ovens also now lie open, cut in the rock; and "near them were found mill stones, the bottoms made of burnt "clay, paterae, black, white, and red. The following coins were "separate, found at different places, Tiberius, in copper; "Augustus, Antoninus Pius, in silver. The urn is now in the "possession of Mr. Barret of this town, an ingenious antiquary."

What has become of the articles named above is unknown. They are probably in some private collection. With the exception of some inscriptions hereafter to be noticed, a long interval elapses before we hear of any further discoveries.

In 1808, there were found by some labourers, when digging, four large pewter dishes, circular in shape. One was 17¾ inches in diameter, and had an ornamented centre. It is engraved by Mr. Lysons in his *Reliquiae Britannico Romanae*, vol. ii, pl. 5. He tells us, that this with two others were presented to him "by Mr. Ford, bookseller, of Manchester, and by him deposited "in the British Museum. A small bit having been taken from one of them a good deal mutilated, was analyzed by Dr. Wollaston, "and found to consist of nearly three parts of tin to one of lead. "Neither of the other two dishes had any ornament; one of "them was 14⅞ inches, the other 20 inches in diameter." From Mr. Lysons' engraving, they would appear to much resemble in appearance a modern soup plate.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1830, there is an account of an ancient well, found in Castle Field. It is there thought to be British, but is evidently one of a class which have previously been discovered at Roman stations. It was four yards below the level of the field, near the canal, was square in form, had four upright posts at the angles, closed in with other logs

placed one upon another, floored in the same manner. The logs were rudely hewn and not sawn, five or six inches in diameter, The foundations of the Roman wall, were found a few yards to the west. A quantity of stones, called "bowlers" locally, were found at the bottom of the well.

Between the years 1829-36, the Castle Field was gradually absorbed for building purposes, and in the excavations necessary for the erection of warehouses, &c., a large number of antiquities were discovered, and afterwards deposited at Worsley Old Hall, at that time the residence of R. H. Bradshaw, Esq., M.P., and many of them are engraved and described in the first volume of Baines's *History of Lancashire* (edit. 1836), p. 158 *et seq.* Among them were a portion of an inscribed altar, a portion of an inscribed tile, and a fragment of a large and elegant inscription, all of which I shall describe hereafter. Portions of two Samian bowls, highly ornamented; three perfect vessels of Upchurch pottery, also a small cup of red pottery; a small leaden bust of a female four inches high, the features much corroded, the hair very distinct, the back of the image flat; a sort of hook rises from the right shoulder, which may represent a sickle. I think the image a steelyard weight. There were also found two iron spear heads, and an iron axe head, ten inches long, two and a-half inches thick at the head, and very heavy; it was much corroded. In addition, there were coins of Vitellius, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Constantius (it is not said of what metal). Several were in good preservation, but the greater part were much corroded. An iron stylus, seven and a-half inches long, with a spiral twist; a bronze (or copper fibula, two inches long, without the pin; "a circular metallic "brooch (or fibula) inlaid with seven stones as a kind of mosaic "work" (which I doubt is of Roman origin); a small copper or bronze hinge, a brass hair pin, with square head; a bronze ornament, shaped like a bell, two inches in diameter, and nearly the same height, including the ring by which it was suspended; another and smaller ornament of the same shape, said to be of copper, but probably bronze; a bronze ladle, an inch and

a-half long; bronze figures of a horse, an inch and a-half long, and of the head of an antelope, also occur, with a number of metallic circular rings and plates, broken pieces of metal and pottery, several beads of paste, coloured blue, &c., &c.

Baines says, p. 160—"About a month before the discovery of "this altar, a coffin was found, on digging on the opposite side "of the Medlock to Castle Field. The coffin was enclosed "within a casing of red earthenware, and appeared to have been "made of oak, as the grain of the wood might be distinctly seen, "though it was all reduced to a pulpy mass, which soon fell to "dust. Bones were seen in the coffin when it was first opened, "but they crumbled on exposure to the air. The coffin was "about six feet long. The earthenware plates which enclosed the "coffin were twenty inches long, sixteen inches broad, and two "and a-half inches thick, including the rim."

In the year 1839 there was found in Tonman Street (in the neighbourhood of *Camp* Field), when excavating for the foundations of the Hall of Science (lately the Free Library, and now pulled down), a very beautiful statuette in bronze of Jupiter Stator, only five and a-quarter inches in height, and standing upon a bronze pedestal. "When found, one hand contained the thunderbolts of "Jove; in the other was extended a rod. (Pl. II.) These, together "with the pedestal, were unfortunately soon lost." (Proctor's *Memorials of Manchester Streets*, p. 128). It is in the most perfect preservation, and now in the possession of Mr. Leigh, the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Manchester. During the same excavations were found a small silver coin of Trajan, also in Mr. Leigh's possession; and "a massive gold signet ring, having on "a bloodstone a figure of Mercury in intaglio." The latter was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Charles Bradbury, of the Crescent, Salford; but of its present whereabouts I am not cognisant.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1840, gives an account by Mr. Howarth (p. 415) of some further discoveries made in that year. Mr. Howarth says that "all traces of ancient Man-"cunium will shortly disappear, from the excavations and

PLATE II.

BRONZE STATUETTE OF JUPITER STATOR. *(Actual size.)*

"alterations that are daily taking place." The discoveries, he says, consisted, in addition to an inscribed tile, "of numerous "fragments of Samian ware, being portions of vases, urns, and "very large circular bowls, the rims on which they stood measur- "ing four and five inches in diameter. They are ornamented in "bold relief with figures of the vine, dolphins, the hound, the "stag, and lions. On one was stamped the word CVPPA." (Dr. Hübner suggests that this was LVPPA, a well known potter's mark.) "There was discovered at the same time a Roman brick, "with fragments of others, and several tiles 12 or 14 inches "square, and 1½ inch thick. * * There was found a mill stone "at the same place, 15 inches in diameter, and 8 inches deep; "weight 58lbs.: this was the upper stone. Another was found in "the same place a short time ago. Both are in my possession."

Mr. Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, says—"All that now (1832) "remains of the ancient castle of Manchester is the "fragment of an inner wall, about 7 yards long, 2 feet wide, and "27 inches above the surface. This ancient relic consists of "unhewn stone, grouted with a rough kind of mortar as hard as "the stone itself." The mortar was analyzed in 1828, by the celebrated Dr. Dalton, and was found, "on being coarsely pul- "verised and sifted, to form itself into three parts,—first a fine "powder, second a coarser powder, and third round small pieces "like shot of various sizes. The finer powder was found to "contain from 15 to 20 per cent. of carbonate of lime with some "clay and iron, and about 80 per cent. of sand. The other two "parts contained stony particles and lumps, less soluble in acids, "and yielding an inferior proportion of lime. The wall is in rear "of Bridgewater Street, within a foot of the division wall of a "pile of cottages, and in the open space used as a timber yard, "adjoining the Bridgewater canal, from which it is about the "same distance as from the old station of the Manchester and "Liverpool Railway."

Fortunately, this fragment of Roman Manchester still exists. Mr. Procter tells us (p. 100) how the late Lord Francis Egerton, afterwards Earl of Ellesmere, watched its safety during the exca-

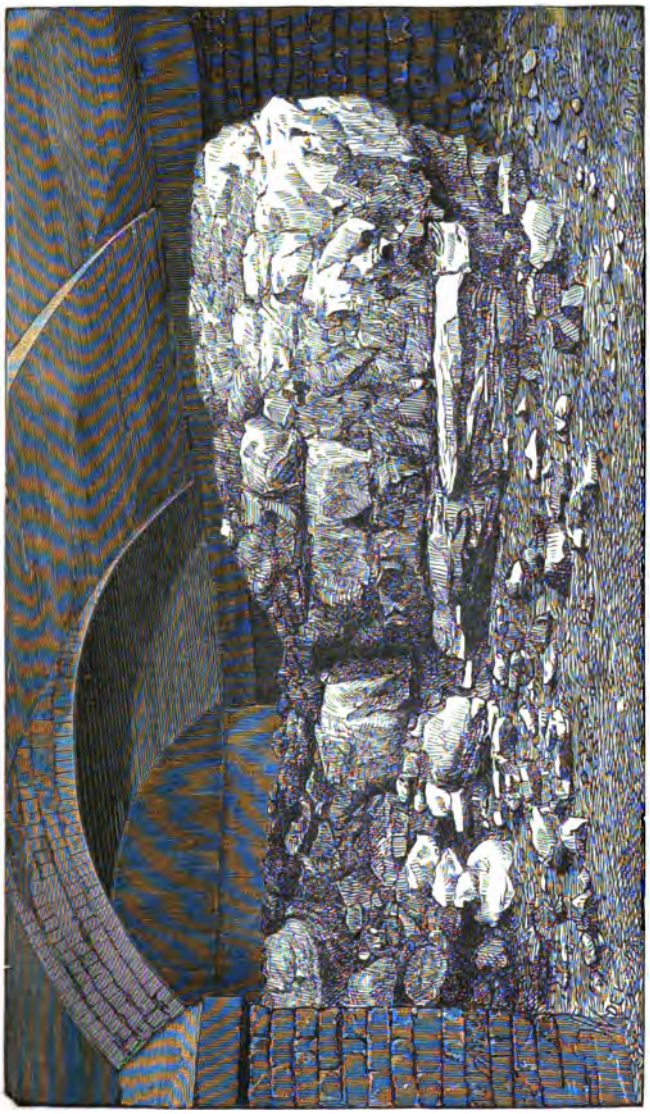
vations. "He caused this fragment of the castle wall to be "supported by brickwork, and then legally secured it from future "molestation. * * We have purposely omitted to name the "exact location of the foundation wall, because it stands within "private business premises, and too many curious visitors would "interfere with trade. Another reason may be recorded. If "every thoughtless or over sanguine person were to bring away a "piece of the mortar as a proof of his discovery, the praiseworthy "design of Lord Francis would be defeated, and Manchester "would soon be deprived of its oldest historical relic. It has "been suggested in print that the rare antique should be imme-"diately surrounded by a substantial iron railing, and surely it "well deserveth such cheap preservation."

Mr. Procter gives an engraving of this fragment, as it appeared in 1873.

As to the date of the erection of the station, nothing can be said with certainty. Mr. Whitaker's assertion, copied by subsequent writers, that it was founded by Agricola, A.D. 79, is entirely conjecture. The first time that we hear of it is in the Antonine Itinerary, compiled, as I have endeavoured to prove (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 112,) *circa* A.D. 138–144. It is apparently mentioned in the Chorography of Ravennas as *Mantio*. The inscriptions found bear no date, though one must have been posterior to the year A.D. 120, for it was erected by a centurion of the 6th legion, which came over to Britain in that year with the Emperor Hadrian. We have also, I think, a fragment of the reign of Septimius Severus.

But though we cannot tell *when* the *castrum* was erected, I think we can get a glimpse of *who* were its builders. We certainly can tell some of the regiments that were in garrison. Amongst the tiles found, there is one of the twentieth legion, the head quarters of which were at Chester. From this fact we can gather, that the twentieth legion were employed in tile making here for building purposes, and thus that they probably erected the fortress. Amongst their successors were the first cohort of the Frisiavones, a people whom Pliny mentions twice as dwelling in Belgic Gaul,

PLATE III.



FRAGMENT OF WALL OF THE ANCIENT CASTLE OF MANCHESTER.

and inhabitants of an island at the mouth of the Rhine, between the Maese and Zuyder Zee. The modern "Friesland" still preserves their name. From the Sydenham *tabula*, we find they were in Britain in A.D. 105, in the reign of Trajan; from the Riveling *tabula*, we gather that they were still in our island in A.D. 124, in the reign of Hadrian. Three of the Manchester inscriptions were erected by them, and they have left another at Melandra castle.

Another corps, which we find was stationed at Manchester, was the third cohort of the Breuci, for such I take to be the expansion of the inscription upon the two tiles found stamped C. III, BR., although at Slack, near Halifax, the fourth cohort of the same people use the abbreviation BRE. The only other expansions which can be given, would point to the third cohort of the *Bracarae*, or the third cohort of the Brittones. The first of these, we know from the *tabulae*, was in Britain, though no traces of it have yet been found; but as the cohort bore the additional title of *Augustanorum*, if it were meant to be commemorated on the tiles found, I should expect to find the abbreviation AVG. after the BR. They were a Portuguese people—the modern Braga representing their chief city. The *Brittones* were from the modern French province of Brittany, but it is doubtful whether any cohort of that tribe ever served in Britain.

The inscriptions found on the site of *Mancunium* are, considering the importance of the station, few in number. The first recorded was an altar, found "by the river Medlock" in 1612, and is said by Whitaker to have been 27¼ inches high, and 15¼ inches wide, and nearly 11 inches thick. Horsley, Stukeley, and Whitaker all describe it as being preserved in the garden at Hulme Hall, which would account for its existence until *circa* 1770. Since then, nothing certain has been known as to it, but there is a memorandum in pencil upon the copy of it, in the Chetham Library at Manchester, saying that—"It was afterwards "in the Leverian Museum." This museum was sold and dispersed in London in 1806. Whitaker says that the altar had no focus, and "it has neither capital nor base, and only a large plane in

"front, bordered on either side by a molding (*sic.*) It is charged "with a common praefericulum on the left edge and with a "common patera on the right." The inscription was—

FORTVNAE
CONSERVA
TRICI
L.SENECIA
NIVS.MAR
TIVS.Ɔ LEG
VI.VICT.

This shews that it was dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix by Lucius Senecianius Martius, a centurion of the sixth legion (surnamed the) Victorious.

Camden tells us that he saw this inscription here—

Ɔ.CANDIDI
FIDES.XX.
IIII

but he evidently misread the commencement of the second line of it, which should be PEDES; the whole reading "Centuria "Candidi, pedes xxiiii;" or, translated, "the century of Candidus [made] twenty-four feet." This refers to building the wall of the *castrum*, and the inscription is one of a numerous class. He also tells us that he had a copy of a similar inscription given to him by the celebrated Dr. Dee, Warden of Manchester College.

COHO. I. FRISIN
Ɔ. MASAVONIS
P. XXIII

This reads—"Coho(rtis) I. Frisiav(orium) centuria Masavonis, "pedes xiii." "The century of Masavo of the 1st cohort of the "Frisiavones [made] twenty-three feet." At the end of the first line the A and V have been liguate, thus, AV, as in the Melandra Castle inscription; and Camden has read them as N. Both of these stones have long been lost. Very strangely, and quite at variance with his usual sagacity, Horsley took them for sepulchral monuments of centurions!

In 1760 there was found on "the south side of the Medlock, "near Knott Mill," on the left hand from Manchester to Stretford, another stone which appears to be of the same class. The letters, however, are of a most barbarous character, and besides the words "Chor I. Fris," nothing can be made out. This, however, is sufficient to shew that the first cohort of the Frisians executed it. The letters are, as far as can be made out—

. . . . . **QPOB
XVAR***CHOR.I.
.RIS .P.SHVVV.

The dots shew where letters are missing, the asterisks where they are on the stone, but of doubtful reading.

This stone is engraved in Gough's Camden, (1789 edition), vol. iii, pl. vi, fig. 15, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1807. Mr. Whitaker rejected it on account of its barbarity and uncertainty, but it is doubtless a genuine stone. Its present whereabouts is unknown. Gough says that under the letters the stone is hollowed as a basin.

In 1795 or 1796 (for authorities are disagreed as to the exact date), another puzzling stone, erected by the same cohort, was found. From vol. lxviii of the Chetham Society's Proceedings, p. 46, we obtain the best copy of the inscription; but the stone had been previously engraved and described in the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. v, pl. vii, pp. 527 and 534. The former copy, taken from Mr. Barritt's original drawing, gives

COHR.I
FRISIAVO
VOVIV.VVV.
S.P.XXIIII.

I think the third line has been very wrongly given, and I would read the inscription as

COHR.I
FRISIAVO
>QVINTIANI
*P.XXIIII

*i.e.*, "*Cohor(tis) I. Frisia-vo(num) centuria Quintiani P(edes)* "*xxiiii.*" In the original all the letters in the third line, after the first I, are given in a ligulate and confused form. This stone is also lost or hidden. It is said to have been fifteen inches by eleven. In vol. v of the above-named *Transactions*, p. 675, it is said of it—"It appears likely the stone was fixed over the centre of "the arched gateway of the castle, it being found in the ground "where the principal entrance into the fortress was situated." From a note by Dr. Edward Holme, given in vol. lxviii of the Chetham Society's Proceedings, p. 46, we gather also—"The "stone on which the following inscription is traced was found on "removing the rubbish that obstructed the Praetorian gateway "of the Roman camp in Castle Field." The stone was formerly in the possession of Charles White, M.D., F.R.S., who died 20th Feb., 1813; since then it is unknown what became of it.

Barritt made a copy of the inscription upon the handle of an amphora, which is now in the Peel Park Museum, Salford (and long thought by some to be genuine). A cast of this is in this Society's Museum.

It was not until the extensive excavations in the year 1832 that any further inscriptions were found. On 6th December of that year, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec., 1832, p. 561,) Mr. Howarth said—"Near the "same place as the altar" (hereafter to be described) "was found "a fragment of a brick or tile, impressed with this inscription "entire"— C . III . BR .

which, as I have previously said, I would expand—"Cohors. III. "Breucorum." In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1840, Mr. Howarth says that another tile, bearing the same inscription, was found (apparently entire). It was from 12 to 14 inches square and 1½ inch thick.

A portion of a tile, bearing the stamp of the twentieth legion, occurred also— . EG . XX . V . V .

Another fragment of stone bore, in finely-executed letters—

ı I N V ı
E T A C

I take the first line of this to be part of the word Invictus, in one of its plural cases, and as referring to Severus and Caracalla, for there is little doubt that the second line has been (G)ETAC(AES) and refers to the Emperor Geta as Caesar. As he took this title in A.D. 198, and changed it for that of Augustus in A.D. 209, it would be between those years that the inscription was executed.

Lastly, there was found, during these excavations, the lower half of a fine inscribed altar, formed of the red sandstone of the neighbourhood, 2 feet 4 inches in height, and the base measuring 1 foot 11 inches from side to side, and 1 foot 2 inches front to back. It was found in May, 1832, and the remainder of the inscription upon its front was :—

.....**VS
.....POSI
...VEXIL
*AETORET
NORICOR
V.S.L.L.M

The second line has been much written upon, and apparently misunderstood by the various readings given of it. It has been made to end with L instead of I, and a stop after the P has been asserted to be upon the stone. If so, no reading could be attempted. Dr. Hübner's reading is the best, and I believe the correct one. It is .... (*prae*) *posi(tus) vexil(lationi)* (*R*)*aetor(um)* *et Noricor(um)*, with the usual concluding *formula*, *V(otvm)* *S(olvit)* *L(aetus)* *L(ibens)* *M(erito)*.

These last three inscriptions were removed to Worsley Old Hall, where, the Hon. Algernon Egerton, M.P., informs me, the first and third now are, but neither he nor Lord Ellesmere could find the second, although they searched for it.

Dr. Hübner gives, under the head of Manchester, a fragmentary inscription, bequeathed by the late Dr. Edward Holme, of that city, to the Manchester Natural History Society, and which is now in the British Museum. Its history, and the place of its discovery, are unknown, but from various circumstances I am inclined to think that, instead of being found at Manchester, it

came from the Roman station at Ambleside, an inscription found at the latter having been long missing. It is

....DIVI.SEP.SEVERI.AN....
....MAX.FILIO.DIVI.ANT...
....POTI.DIVI.ANTON.....
....ABNEP.DIVI.TR.....

and is entirely occupied with the titles and descent of Caracalla.

Of the potters' marks, which cannot fail to have been discovered at Manchester the same as at other Roman stations, no record has, unfortunately, been kept, with the exception of the two examples (ADVOCISI and CVPPA) which I have given.

There remain now only the roads to be noticed. Of these there were a number issuing from the station. A fine one, fourteen yards in breadth, connected it directly with Wigan (*Coccium.*) From this, at Hope Hall, another paved road, but only three yards broad, led to Blackrode. Another road, very variable in its character, in some places being well made, led direct to Ribchester. Another to Slack (*Cambodunum*) in Yorkshire. Another ran along Blackstone Edge. Another fine one went directly to the station at Kinderton (*Condate.*) Another road ran through Barton, and proceeded to the station at Wilderspool. Another ran eastward to Melandra Castle—whilst another, passing through Stockport and by the Roman camp at Toot Hill, near Forest Chapel, connected Manchester with Buxton. But as these roads require separate treatment, and as I hope eventually to communicate a paper upon the roads of the county to the Society, I will at present leave the subject in abeyance.

I have endeavoured, though I fear imperfectly, to bring into the compass of this paper, all that is known of Roman Manchester. There is still a possibility that, in casual excavations, many things may still be found within its area which will serve to throw extra light upon its history. Let us hope that, in that event, they will be well cared for, and preserved as memorials of a grand and historical past.

# A CENTURY OF RECUSANCY,

ILLUSTRATED FROM THE

# RECORDS OF THE BLUNDELLS OF CROSBY.

*By the Rev. T. E. Gibson.*

(Read 20th March, 1879.)

## PART I.

THE subject of Recusancy, and its results under the Penal Laws, has not, as far as I remember, been brought under the notice of the Historic Society, although it enters largely into the history of our county during the last three hundred years. Whatever may have happened in other parts of England, an exceptional stand was made in Lancashire against the introduction of the changes in religious matters which, in the time of Elizabeth, were forced upon the nation. The long reign of this Queen, and the glory she acquired in the eyes of the nation by the success which attended her foreign policy, enabled her to consolidate her power to such a degree as to be able to stamp out almost entirely all traces of that religion which, in the early part of her father's time, had been professed by the whole nation. This was effected by the aid of the Penal Laws, the severities of which are now generally deplored, but which were only removed from the statute-book in 1844, though they became inoperative by the Relief Act, passed fifty years ago. With these laws as they affected priests this paper has nothing to do; but it is a matter of history that great num-

bers of them suffered a barbarous death, in conformity with these laws, for the mere exercise of their functions. I propose to speak only of the laity, and, indeed, only of one family amongst the Lancashire gentry, viz., the Blundells of Crosby.

This family is remarkable for the fidelity with which it has always adhered to the faith of its forefathers, and is amongst the few families of England that have never swerved from this allegiance, even by a temporary act of conformity. Such a race was certain to feel, from time to time, the full force of the Penal Laws, and therefore will very suitably illustrate the action of these laws during the whole period of their existence. Moreover, such a family is likely to possess, and in reality does possess, authentic records of these sufferings which have never hitherto come to light, but which the courtesy of Colonel Blundell, the present worthy representative of the family, enables me to make use of.

My introductory account of the race must necessarily be short. Its earliest charters go as far back as the reign of Henry II, when it was seated at Ainsdale, a manor which went soon (in marriage, I believe) to the Halsalls, but was purchased from Sir Cuthbert Halsall in 1631, by Robert Blundell, the lawyer of Gray's Inn, and the then representative of the other family seated at Ince-Blundell. This accounts for its possession by Thomas Weld Blundell, Esq., at the present day. The Blundells of Ainsdale became very shortly the Blundells of Little Crosby, a manor acquired, it is said, through the Molyneux's, although this does not seem to be altogether free from doubt. Many of them were soldiers of fortune, and Sir Robert Blundell accompanied his monarch, Edward I, into Wales, where he married an heiress. The Welsh proved to be valiant defenders of their native hills, and Sir Robert is supposed to have been one of the twelve knights-banneret who a few years later, in the absence of their king, were slain in an engagement very disastrous to the English arms. There is a curious clause in a grant made by this knight to his son Nicholas in the year 1278, viz., that if he fails in the performance of the conditions recited in the deed, he shall pay to the king 5 marks for the work which he is constructing at

Roye-lane. Roye-lane, now Rhuddlan Castle, was being rebuilt by King Edward at this period, as a stronghold against the incursions of the Welsh. Its extensive ruins frown upon the wayfarer as he prepares to wander amidst the beautiful scenery of the Clwyd, whose outlet it was intended to guard.

Passing over many centuries, we come, in the time of Hen. VII, to another soldier, Henry Blundell, who was killed on the battle field. His death took place in Scotland, but he lived long enough to marry twice and to leave behind him thirty-one children. In the reign of Elizabeth, who ascended the throne in 1558, we find Richard Blundell seated at Crosby. He had married Ann, daughter of Richard Starky, of Stretton, Co. Chester, Esq. With his name commences the century of recusancy which I propose to record, confining my attention to the worst period of the Penal Laws, *i.e.*, from 1591 to 1691, or rather to 1698, when William Blundell, the cavalier, ended his days. During this period three of the race reigned in their ancestral hall, viz., Richard Blundell, his son William, and his great-grandson, also William; for Nicholas the father of the latter died in his own father's lifetime. All those who on religious or any other grounds refused obedience to the laws affecting religion, were stigmatised as recusants; but it is chiefly Catholics, in communion with the see of Rome, who are known by that name. These laws occupied so large a share of the attention of government, and are so many and various, that it is impossible within the lines laid down to give more than a cursory glance at those which formed the grounds of the prosecutions to which this family was repeatedly subjected.

There was first the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which every one was bound to take when called upon by a competent authority: one refusal subjected him to fines and imprisonment, and a second to the penalties of high treason. There was likewise the Act of Conformity, which compelled every one to attend his parish church on Sundays and holydays, under the penalty at first of 12 pence for each offence, but afterwards of £20 the lunar month. This came to £260 a year,—a very large sum, con-

sidering the relative value of money, which few could pay. I only know of two instances in which it was paid for any length of time, viz., those of Sir John Southworth, of Southworth and Samlesbury, and John Towneley, of Towneley. There is still at Towneley Hall, near Burnley, a picture of the latter gentleman, who has recorded upon it that, up to 1601, he had paid £5000, which is equivalent to more than £70,000 in the present day. In addition to this, Mr. Towneley had undergone frequent imprisonment for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. It must be remarked with regard to the oath of allegiance, that it would have been readily taken by Catholics if it had not been weighted with matter to which they could not conscientiously give their adhesion. These are the words of the inscription under the picture of John Towneley at Towneley :—

"This John about y^e^ 6^th^ or 7^th^ year of her Maiesties Queen "Elizabeth reign that is, for professing the Apostolical Roman "faith, was imprisoned first at Chester, then sent to Manchester, "then to York Castle, then to the Block house in Hull, then "to the Gate house in Westminster, then to Manchester, then to "Broughton in Oxfordshire, then twice to Ely in Cambridgeshire, "so now of 73 years old and blind is bound to appear and "keep within 5 miles of Towneley his house; who hath since "the statute of 23^d^ paid into the exchequer £20 the month "and doth still, so that there is paid already above £5000. "An° 1601."

I have said that only the very richest recusants could pay the prescribed fines. This was soon found out, and hence the law which allowed the Government to confiscate two-thirds of their estate in lieu of the fines. Again, the necessity of procuring the services of priests, exposed them even to severer penalties. This crime, in fact, was made treasonable, and rendered the party convicted liable to imprisonment and death. It is in connection with an offence of this nature that we first meet with the name of Richard Blundell of Crosby. In the year 1590 he had given Robert Woodroffe, a seminary priest, a temporary asylum in his house; but the priest's steps had been closely watched, and he

was apprehended in company with Mr. Blundell and his son. They were first taken before the Earl of Derby, at his house, New Park, for examination, and were sent thence to Chester. Soon after they were transferred to Lancaster, and at the assizes there were tried and convicted; a copy of the indictment being still preserved at Crosby. Before speaking of this imprisonment, let us pause for a moment to consider the bearing of the gentry in these parts at this trying period. I have said that in Lancashire an exceptional stand was made by the gentry against the introduction of the new order of things in matters of religion. This is confirmed by a remarkable State paper, printed for the first time in *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*, which reveals the attitude of nearly all the gentry of the West Derby Hundred in this particular. Having been compiled by the Bishop of Chester and his officers, it may be deemed perfectly trustworthy. As this document is in print, it is merely necessary to make a summary of its contents. It bears date 1590, when Queen Elizabeth had been on the throne 32 years, and is prefaced by these observations:—

1. "The nomber of recusants is great and w$^{h}$ dailie increase."
2. "There maie be seene usuallie every Sunday and holiday, "as hathe also very lately beene confessed, as many "people to repayre to places suspected as to the Parrysche "Churche."

It then attributes these "enormities" chiefly to the want of due and effectual execution of the Penal Laws, and proceeds to enumerate the gentry, beginning with the magistrates, twelve in number. These are headed by the Earl of Derby and his son, and a running commentary in marginal notes reveals the character and disposition of each individual. With the exception of the Earl of Derby, his son, and Mr. Legh of Lyme, who are favourably spoken of, some disparaging qualification accompanies the other names, although they are said to be conformable in religion. It must be remembered that no one could be a magistrate without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Then we find eighteen knights and squires bracketed together, of

whom it is said—"All of them though in some degree of con-"formitie, yet in general note of evil affection in religion ñ "communicants and y^e^ wives of y^e^ most of them recusants." After this we have eight of the same class, who are said to be "more usual comers to church but ñ communicants." Three only are said to be "soundly affected in religion." We then come to gentlemen of the better sort. Eight are named as recusants, and thereof indicted; and eleven as "comers to "church but ñ communicants, and their wives very little better "than recusants." Seven more are said to be soundly affected in religion, and they are followed by a list of fourteen ladies, beginning with Lady Lucy, wife of Edward Stanley of Winwick, who are declared to be recusants, and thereof indicted. Thus it will be seen that in 1590, notwithstanding the severe Penal Laws then in force, the feeling of the West Derby Hundred, as expressed in the attitude of the gentry, was not in favour of the reformed doctrines, although many made occasional acts of conformity to escape persecution. Of the common people the same document declares that 941 persons had been presented for recusancy before the last quarter sessions, and 800 since the last commission. In this list Mr. Richard Blundell of Crosbie is said to be in gaol "for recepting of a seminaire." The prisons in England at that time were not what they now are, and the change for a man of Mr. Blundell's age and position, from the comforts of a well-ordered establishment to the hardships of an unwholesome confinement, must have been very trying. He wrote the following letter to his wife, after he had been a prisoner a short time :—

"Richard Blundell to his lovinge wyfe Añe Blu at Crosbie or "elsewhere be these

"I receyved yo^r^ lett^r^ upon Saturedaye last past being the "tweentie sixe daye of this September wherein I perceive that "three of my tenahts sones in little Crosbie are desireous to be "maryed upon reasonable consideration if I thought it con-"venient. Trulie I do not much denye to geve my consent for "the mariage of some of them, but not before y^t^ you and I have

"conferred thereof. I would wish you to send them word not to "be forward therein before they shall knowe more hereafter. I "would have you to send me fourtie shillings in money by the "next that cometh to us. Wee are al in health and merie at "this present blessed be God savinge we are sorie for the losse of "one of our deare ffrends whom it hath pleased Almighty God to "caule to his mercie upon ffryday last, I meane Mr. Worthington "of Blanscou who was sick not fully ffoure daies before his death "and besydes this, Mr. Latham was aboute the tenth daye of "this monthe in great danger of death as we thought for two or "three daies together and other two that hath beene sicke "of late, and if you have no hope of our cominge home here-"after then you must send me new sheerts and my Gowne with "other things that I tolde Car of at his last beinge with us. "This with commendacōns to y$^{r}$ selfe with others yo$^{r}$ ffrends and "myne I end this Mūdaie y$^{e}$ 28 of September prayinge Almightie "God to send us merie meeting to his honour and glorie and "our greate comforte."

The reference to the marriage of tenants reminds us that the feudal system still lingered in England. Mr. Richard Worthington, of Blainscoe, near Wigan, was the head of that ancient family, and brother of Dr. Thomas Worthington, President of Douay College and author of the Notes in the Douay Bible. His son and heir, Thomas, had married the niece of Cardinal Allen, who had made himself particularly obnoxious to Government by his zeal in procuring the erection of the Colleges at Douay and Rome, for the education of English Catholics. Mr. Worthington left several sons, four of whom, mere youths, were captured by pursuivants at Sankey House, near Warrington. They were placed in the custody of Bishop Chatterton of Chester, who used every means in his power to induce them to conform. Notwithstanding severe examinations, imprisonments, and floggings, they maintained a remarkable constancy, and surprised their persecutors by the readiness of their answers and their fortitude in suffering. A full account of their trials is given in Bridgewater's *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, entitled "Certamen

"Quatuor Puerorum Worthingtonium." A copy of this scarce book, reprinted in 1593, is in the possession of the writer.

From the hardships of his imprisonment Mr. Richard Blundell, who was then in advancing years, contracted a grievous sickness, of which he died in the gaol at Lancaster, on 19th March, 1591-2.

His son William, as we have already stated, was taken prisoner with him, and he has left in his own handwriting, in a book still preserved at Crosby, interesting accounts of his own sufferings in the cause of religion. These narratives we shall proceed to give in his own words, as they reveal, in simple and truthful language, the frequent and heavy trials to which he was subjected. He may truly be called the confessor of the family, for though he did not suffer death like his father, yet during his long career he was seldom free from persecution. Born in 1560, his name occurs as visiting Douay College in 1580, but he probably made his studies at the College in Rome. It is somewhat curious that the first funds for the establishment of this college were derived from a foundation for a hospice, made a century before by a Lancashire couple named Shepherd, to provide accommodation for English pilgrims visiting the shrines of the apostles. William Blundell married Emilia, daughter of Edward Norris, of Speke, Esq. His narrative is headed as follows :—

"Som of the troubles and persecutions sustayned by William
"Blundell Esq$^{r}$ for profession of y$^{e}$ Catholick faith.

"In the year of our Lord God 1590 the 11$^{th}$ of June the Rt "Hon$^{ble}$ Henerie Earle of Darbie sent certaine of his men to "searche the house of Richard Blundell Esq$^{r}$ for matters belong-"ing to Catholick religion &$^{c}$ where they apprehended and tooke "away with them to his honor's house (the New Parke) one M$^{r}$ "Woodroffe a seminary priest and the said Richard Blundell and "mee Will$^{m}$ Blundell sonne of the said Richard: And the day "next following we were severally examined by the Earle: And "on the thirteenth day of the same month wee were all sent to "be imprisoned in Chester Castle. About the 5 or 6 of August "next following wee were all by the Earles men featched from "Chester and brought to Knowsley one of his honor's houses

"where wee were (as alsoe my mother and one John Carre my "father's man) severally examined by Chatterton the Bishopp of "Chester who was ioyned in comission with the Earle to examine "us uppon Interrogatories by the Lords of the Councell.

"And the day following, the priest my father and I were sent "prisoner to Lancaster (where wee found prisoners ther before "us Mr Henrie Lathom of Mosborowe and Mr Richard Worth-"ington of Blanschouge comitted for their conscience) where "also my father and I remained (for the most part) untill the "19th of March of the year 1592 on which day my saide ffather "changed his life for a better. Within about a ffortnight after I "had a license obtained from the Right honble the Earle of Derbie "to come to Crosbie for one onely month. And then retorned "to Lancaster againe, whence about Michaelmas ensueing or some-"what before I was againe dismissed by his honrs warrant.

"Upon the 20 or 21 November next after, I was againe appre-"hended (in the time of Bells persecution) by John Nutter "parson of Sephton and divers others assisting him, and my wife "also was taken, and both of us first weare carried to the parson-"age of Sephton and theire staide all night whence on the "morning wee were brought to my Lord his house the New "Parke before the Earle, the Bishopp Chatterton and Mr Wade "one of the Clearkes of the Councell; where my wife was dis-"missed and I with others sent to London with 2 Pursevants or "Messengers. On the 8th of December (beinge the feast of the "Conception of our bl Ladie) I with anr Henrie Lathom of "Mosborowe was by the aforesaid Mr William Wade brought "before Doctor Whyt(gift) Archbishopp of Canturburie att his "house Croydon in Surrey where wee were adjudged to prison; "Mr Lathom to the fleete and I to the Gatehouse of Westminster "where I remained prisoner until the 12th of July of the yeare "1595; then was set at liberty uppon bonds to apeare and come "in within 20 dayes after warning given, since which tyme I was "never imprisoned. And soe coming home with my wyfe who "had come upp to London with her brother Edward Norres and "hee retorneing after a few dayes, shee stayed in prison with me

" till my said delivery which was some 6 or 8 weeks. And after " we lived at Crosbie until the 27th of May in the year of Our " Lord 1598. Att what tyme my house was searched by Sir " Richard Mollinex Knt and John Nutter P'son of Sephton when " I escapeing my wyfe was taken for her conscience and carried " first to Sephton and examined and retorned home for that night " uppon bonds or promise of my ffather Norres (as I thinke) to " appeare at Chester before the Bishopp such a day. Accordingly " the last of the same month shee together with divers other " Catholics as namely Hector Stock, Elin Baron the wyfe of " Laurence Baron of the Edge, Jane Melling widow, Elin Blun- " dell the wyfe of Thomas Blundell of the Carrside in Ince " Blundell were comitted to prison in the Castle of Chester.

" Within a litle more than a month after (as I take it) some " man (but I never knew who it was) caused the old indictmt for " entertaining a seminarie priest which had beene in the yeare " 1590 afforesaide, to be prosecuted against mee, whereuppon " proclamation was made accordinge to theire custome att the " Countie Courts att Lancaster that I should come in and appeare, " which I not doeing was condemned of felonie by the Coroner.

" After this condemnation I tarried secretly at countrie houses " some 3 quarters of a yeare. In the meane while my wyfe getting " out of prison in Chester Castle uppon bonds for her appearance " againe &c shee and I for feare of beeing apprehended went first " to Wrixham in Wales (where our brother Bannister dwelt) and " thence after a good while (my wyfe being great with child) " retorned into Lancasheare to the Speakes and I ridde to Weme " (in Shropshire) where my brother Bannister had another dwell- " ing house. And thence to London to get a pardon, where " sending home my horses I with my man Peter Stocke staide " there about ffive weekes and without getteing a pardon, I came " into Staffordshire changing my name whither my wyfe came to " mee and there wee staide about two yeares at six several places, " untill the Queenes death where comminge home I soone after " obtained from King James a free and large pardon which cost " mee in all but 40 or 50 shillings."

James Bell, to whose persecution Mr. Blundell alludes, was one of the old priests who had conformed, but having repented, found himself the object of a particular attention on the part of Government. He was taken prisoner; and it having been discovered that he had said mass at Golborne on St. John's Day, he was tried at Lancaster, and suffered there the usual cruel death for the crime of being reconciled to the Church of Rome. The Rev. John Nutter, Rector of Sephton was called by Queen Elizabeth "her golden ass," by reason of the many rich livings which he held. The tradition of the family is, that when the house was entered by pursuivants, the husband and wife escaped, but the children were left behind. After ten days Mrs. Blundell, weary of so long a separation from her children, returned home and gave herself up to her persecutors, who immediately carried her off a prisoner to Chester. After a confinement of several weeks, her enemies seem to have relented; and through the intercession of Sir Richard Molyneux and the parson of Sephton, she was released and suffered to return to Crosby. Their letter addressed to the Bishop of Chester on this occasion has been preserved.

"To y^e^ Right reverend FF. in God O^r^ very good L. y^e^ L.
"Bishoppe of Chester.

"Whereas wee are given to understand that since the late com-
"mitment of M^rs^ Emilia Blundell (close prisoner in her Ma^ties^
"Castle of Chester) yo^r^ hono^r^ by some her worshipful frends
"hath beene often and earnestlie entreated for her enlargm^t^ in
"regard of some her infirmities upō good and sufficient bonds
"for her forthcoming and y^e^ inlaying of her body at such time as
"shall be thought fitt and convenient. And further that in a
"fatherlie care ov^r^ the present state of her feeble body and
"y^e^ preservation of her decayed health yo^r^ Lordship is said to
"carie an honorable inclination and disposition. And for that
"wee ourselves by div^rs^ and sūdrie o^r^ good neighbours have beene
"likewise seriouslie solicited for the speedy furthering thereof:
"We have therefore thought good thus much hereby to signifie
"that if in consideration of all or any of y^e^ p^r^misses it may stand

"with y^r ho^ble good Lordship's liking to favor to allow thereof and y^r "same to grant accordinglie wee for o^r parts shal be well pleased to "yield thereunto and by o^r mutual assent to joyne with yo^r ho^r in "that behalfe so that upon like bonds sufficient permission may "be had that for and during all the time of her unconformitie "obstinacie and disobedience she shall not make anie repaire "unto or into anie part of o^r Parish of Sephton, nor yet within "the space of so manie myles as by yo^r L^pe shalbe limited and "appoynted. And for that common experience doth too well "teach us that y^e evill examples of such Archpapists and diso- "bedient persons doe greatlie hinder the race of y^e Gospell "(especiallie in these maritime parts) and daylie threaten "dangerous events, if y^e same be not wislie foreseene and "speedilie prevented: Wee could wish o^r selves likewise alto- "gether freede from the Company of M^r Blundell her husband if "by any lawful way or means he (being a confyned Papist) might "be removed from among us. Thus referring the whole matter "and every circumstance thereof unto yo^r ho^rs grave and deep "consideration with remembrance of o^r duties we humbly take "leave.

"Sephton of this August y^e 23^d —98

"Yo^r good L^ps every way assured

"Richard Molynex

"Jo: Nutter."

The suggestion as to the desirability of removing Mr. Blundell by some lawful means reminds us of the remarkable letter written twelve years before by Walsingham to Sir Amias Poulet, keeper of Mary of Scotland, in which he is reproached for not having found the means of shortening the life of that unfortunate queen. It is probable, however, that the banishment of Mr. Blundell, and not his death, is here hinted at.

Mr. Blundell was a very religious man, and has left, in his own handwriting, many controversial papers, in which he shows a very fair acquaintance with Holy Writ, as well as the writings of the Fathers. He was likewise addicted to poetry, but his prose is better than his verse, for he was clearly not one of those born to

be poets, whatever he himself may have thought upon the subject. A remarkable poem was written by him on occasion of this very persecution. One stanza is here given, not for the sake of the versification, but to shew what those of our ancestors had to endure, who three centuries ago refused to accommodate themselves to the important changes in religion which the Goyernment had resolved to impose upon the nation. It is headed thus :— "The following ditty was made upon the persecution made in "Sephton Parish especially by John Bishop of Chester and Nutter.

"Husbands and their wives parted are assunder
"Parents severed are from their children dear
"Sucking babes do cry
"Which at home do lie
"Mothers do bewayle
"Being fast in gaol
"All the country talketh
"Every way one walketh
"What in Sephton we endure
"For no strange opinion
"But that old religion
"Austen planted here most sure."

As the estate of Mr. Blundell was one of those which could not bear the fine of £20 a month for the privilege of absence from the Parish Church, two-thirds of it were seized by the Crown and given away to needy courtiers. He has furnished the following list of the grantees :—

"The names of those who begged two prts of my lands for "Recusancie.

"Imp$^{r}$mis John Gille 2 Charles Grimston 3 Tho$^{s}$ Heaton "4 Gervis Travis 5 The two of the black guard 6 Thurston "Gibson 7 Ambrose Astell

"8 But before anie of these one Lever (as I thinke) had a "grant of the two prts of my fathers lands and aboute a yeare "before my said ffathers death had £80 for a composition and a "lease of the saide two prts was made to Richard Armston Esq$^{r}$. "Soon after my ffathers death the said Lever (as I take it) began "to procede against mee but I am sure hee had nothing.

"About the yeare of our Lord 1593 when I was prisoner att "London John Gille got a grant of two prts of my lands, and

"about a yeare and a halfe after made a division with the Shireffes "assistance and had for a composition £120. The lease was "made to Mr William Norres sonne and heire apparent of "Edward Norres of Speake Esq. and was dulie payde divers "yeares untill Charles Grimston had gott a new grant of 2 prts "of my lands and laboured to get a composition but through "Gods goodnesse hee had nothing.

"Then about the yeare of our Lord God 1599 I was outlawde "uppon an Indictmt of fellonie for being taken with a Priest "which Indictmt was 9 years before the said outlawrie. And "thereuppon all my lands and goods were forfaited because I did "not come in and appeare uppon proclamation. Then presently "after, about the yeare 1601 Thomas Heaton and Gervise Traves "by reason of the said Traves his hurte hee had in furthering "the taking of Mr Hunt the Priest gott a new grante of 2 prts of "my lands and laboured verie busilie to gett possession or com- "position but (blessed be God) gott neither, in which tyme of "his labouring to get my liveing the outlarie before menconed "staide, and nothing was done about the same: untill it was "thought by reason of my close keeping, that I was fled the land. "Thereuppon proclamation was made in Leverpoole market "according to the statute of fugitives viz that I should deliver "my selve into the sheriffe's hands within six monthes or else "the law to proceede.

"Then two of the Queen Eliz: her cooks begged all my lands "as of a fugitive and thereby disappointed Heaton and Travesse "of there purpose. The said Cookes caused a comission to be "sitten for the proveing of the value of my lands and my fleeing "out of the land, but soe it pleased God neither was prvd suf- "ficiently to there likeing nor anie thing gotten.

"Within a yeare or litle more after the Queene died, and I got "a prdon under the Kings seale and thereby was freede which "prdon cost 26s 8d with 13s 4d in expences about it.

"Then about the yeare of Our Lord God 1607 came Sr Arthur "Aston into this countrie and pretended to have a grant of 2 prts "of my lands and all my goods. And once sent half a dozen of

" his Agents and after came twice in his own p̄rson with a great " companie of men to have taken my goods but p̄vailed nothing " save onely the latter tyme he tooke an ould gelding. But in " the end it appeared that the grant was not to S$^{r}$ Arthur but to " Gibson and Thurstan who laboured to gett a composition and " in the meane time they paide into the Exchequer 20 marks " being one halfe yeares rent of the 2 prts of my lands. And the " next half yeares rent they paide not and so forfaited theire " grant w$^{ch}$ Peter Stocke whom for that end I sent to London " found out.

" Next after about the yeare of Our Lord God 1610 came " Ambrose Astell p̄tending likewise to have a grant of the 2 prts " of my lands from Bowes and Beeston and laboured manie wayse " to have an agreement but not getting anie hee came to sease " uppon my goods and driveing one of my kine and some horses " was rescowed by two p̄sons. Att which tyme divers men and " women came neare to see and looke on without apointment or " request of anie whereuppon hee caused a privie sessions and " indicted a great meanie to the number of 70 p̄sons, intending to " make a Starre Chamber matter of it. But in the meane tyme he " was p̄ved to exceede his Comission and take bribes and thereby " was driven the countrie.

" Yet afterwards about 1613 he sent a gentleman like man who " was saide to bee his sonne to serve mee, my wife and divers of " my tenants into the Starre Chamber p̄ces about another false " p̄tended ryott as namely Richard Marrowe, Thomas Bourghe, " W$^{m}$ Harrison, Thomas Marrowe, Thomas Rothwell, Ja$^{s}$ Harvie, " which James I sent to London to appeare for all, but uppon his " appearance all theire p̄cedings proved conterffeate and soe " ended. Blessed be God for all his mercies and goodnesse for " evermore. Amen."

It is manifest that one cause of the frequent disappointments of those who expected to benefit from these Crown grants, was the secret or overt opposition of Mr. Blundell's tenantry. Living in a remote spot he would have early information of what was intended, and would provide for the safety of his goods by the

willing aid of his neighbours. Moreover, as the presence of the High Sheriff or of some magistrate was necessary to put the laws in execution, it may be easily imagined that this unwelcome task would be evaded whenever it was possible to evade it. However averse they might have been to the religious principles of such men as Mr. Blundell, there is abundant evidence to show that, in Lancashire at least, these harsh measures were looked upon as very ungentlemanly proceedings. It must not, however, be imagined that the Crown took no steps to obtain its own share of the spoil. All the reserved rents were recorded against the estate, and when, fifty years later, Mr. Blundell's grandson purchased from the Commonwealth his sequestrated lands, he found himself saddled with all these arrears, nor could he obtain possession until the whole had been discharged.

# A CENTURY OF RECUSANCY,

ILLUSTRATED FROM THE

# RECORDS OF THE BLUNDELLS OF CROSBY.

*By the Rev. T. E. Gibson.*

(Read 17th April, 1879.)

## PART II.

IN 1611 an action of Mr. Blundell's, prompted by motives of religion and charity, led to two very different results. These were the discovery of a treasure of Saxon coins, and his prosecution in the Star Chamber, which ended in the imposition of a heavy fine. The following is the narrative of this transaction, written by his own hand, and, as appears from the context, in the year 1611. It is headed—"Jesu Maria. Sacramentum Regis "abscondere bonum est, opera autem Dei revelare & confitere "honorificum est—to hyde the secret of a king is good: but to "reveale and confesse the woorks of God is an honorable thing." Book of Tobias, c. 12, v. 7.

"I William Blundell of Litle Crosbie within the Countie of "Lancaster Esq[r] a weeke or a fowertnigte before Christenmas "laste paste, havinge hearde that Catholicke Recusants were "prohibited to bee buried at theire Parishe Church, bethought "mee (myself through God's grace beinge also a Catholique) "where were best to make readie in this my village of Litle "Crosbie, a place fitt to burie suche Catholiques, either of myne "owne howse or of the neighbourhoode, as should depte this "lyfe duringe the tyme of these trobles. And so I caused a litle

"peece of grownde to bee enclosed w^th^in myne owne demaine "land, in a place called of ould tyme (as it is nowe also) the "'Harkirke.' The workmen whoe dytched and enclosed it on "twoe sydes, (for the other twoe sydes were fenced before) were "John Ryse, and Thomas Marrall the elder, bothe of this towne "of Litle Crosbie, and my tennants. They finished the dytch a "litle before Christenmas laste, leavinge abowte the middest of "the north west syde of it a gappe or waye into it undytched of "some twoe yards wyde. And thus it remayned untill the deathe "of an ould man and tenante of myne, whoe dyinge a Catholicke "was not p̄mitted by the Parson of Sephton to bee buried at the "Parish Churche of Sephton, though some of the olde man's "neighbours solicited the same, yea and brought the corse neare "to the Churche to be buried uppon Sonday in the afore noone "beinge the seventhe of Aprill of this p̄sent yeare of our Lorde "1611. The neighbours therefore whoe caried and attended or "accompanied the corse, came to the foresaide place in my "grownd w^ch^ they or some of the cheefeste of them had heard "was by mee enclosed from the rest of my grounde there for "such a purpose; and there buried the corpes about twelve "o'clock when I was at dinner. This ould man's name was "William Mathewson. The daye next followinge in the morninge, "beinge Mondaye, a servant boye of myne of fowerteene yeares "ould called Thomas Ryse, dryvinge my catle (w^ch^ as yet did "nightlie lye in the howse) to a field neare the sayde place of "burial, went ov^r^ into the said place, not at the sayd gappe, but "at a corner and uppon the right hande of the sayde entrance or "gappe as one cometh owte, hee sawe uppon the sandie copp "caste w^th^in the sayde place certayne peeces of coyne scattered "(as it seemed) w^th^ the throwinge of them w^th^ the sande owte of "the dytch. W^th^ these therfore w^ch^ hee then found beinge some "broken but most of them whole, he came home, and showed "them to divers my servants first; and afterwards cominge into "the kitchin amongest them whoe were lookinge and musinge at "them, I presentlie tooke the coyne and layde it uppe and "takinge the boye to shewe mee the place and manner of his

"fyndinge them, I went w$^{th}$ my sonne Nicholas and Edwarde "Denton my man to the place, (my brother Richard Blundell "cominge after us,) where seekinge and scrapinge in the sandie "coppe wee found a number more before dinner; and at after "dinner it pleased my mother herself to goe thither, I accom- "panyinge her w$^{th}$ my wyfe my said Brother and Nicholas my "sonne and Edwarde Denton aforesaid, when againe we found "some more of the Coyne, but fewer then at the former tymes. "In all there were fownde at one tyme and other above fowre "schore peeces, none bigger then a groate and none lesse than "a twoe pence."

This is Mr. Blundell's account; and it will be well to add in this place his grandson William the Cavalier's narrative, which he derived from family tradition, and which adds some particulars. It occurs in a letter, dated April 29th, 1655, addressed to his cousin-german, James Scarisbrick, of Scarisbrick, Esq., then a young student at St. Omer's College.

"In y$^{e}$ yeare 1611 a bitter storm of persecution extended its "fury in these parts to y$^{e}$ bodyes of deceased Catholicks. The "Churches in all places denyed them buriall; som wer layd "in y$^{e}$ fields; som in gardens, and others in high-wayes as it "chanced. One of thes (as I have heard it credibly reported) "being interred in a common land, had her Corps pull'd out by "y$^{e}$ hoggs and used accordingly. Whereupon to prevent y$^{e}$ lyke "for y$^{e}$ future ther was a part of the demesne at Crosby inclosed "by my grandfather Blundell, for y$^{e}$ decent burial of such poore "Catholicks as were otherwaies lykely to want it. When he "stirred y$^{e}$ first earth in order to this small enclosure he found in "y$^{e}$ grownd dyvers hundreds of old Saxon coynes, each about 3d "or a groat in weight, all of them silver; ther were 20 severall "disctinct coynes at y$^{e}$ least."

Before making a few remarks on the Harkirke find, I think it of some importance to place on record here mention of another treasure trove at Scarisbrick, which occurs in the same letter. The communication of this piece of news to his correspondent, no doubt led him to speak of the Harkirke discovery, which had

happened upon his own estate. The finds differed in character, the later one consisting apparently of Roman coins. It is a pity that Mr. Blundell's notice of them is so general, but the fact of such a discovery having been made at Scarisbrick in the year 1655, is valuable; and probably this is the only existing account.

"Hugh Worthington y^ur^ Tenant hath found a few days since "in y^e^ grownd about his house, dyvers scores of most antient "Roman pieces, many of them pure silver, others (supposed "once to be gold) prove now but Brasse, these about half a crowne "in weight, those but sixpence. The faces and inscriptions upon "y^e^ silver coyne are clearly apparent and very neatly cutt, the "charecter is the same now used, or w^th^ little differrence. One "of these beares y^e^ face of Vespatian, w^th^ his name and tytle "(Cæsar) stamp't at large upon y^e^ Verge. On y^e^ other syde is a "woman, despoyled of all her Dresses, in a sedentary and pen-"sive posture, and y^e^ inscription upon y^e^ ring *Judæa*. You have "in others SPQR in a wreath of Laurel, y^e^ Roman Egle dis-"played, y^e^ Aulters and instruments of sacrifize, w^th^ y^e^ faces of "sondry of y^e^ first twelve Cæsars no lesse discirnable then y^e^ "stamps of our moderne coyne. . . We have here an od opinion "y^t^ y^e^ finding of Iroron is lucky, but of silver extreamely "unfortunat."

James Scarisbrick, Mr. Blundell's first cousin, their mothers being sisters, daughters of Roger Bradshaigh, Esq., of the Haigh, near Wigan, was born in 1635, and succeeded his father in 1653, at the age of 18. He had gone back to St. Omer's College to finish his studies, and in 1659 he married Frances, fifth daughter of Robert Blundell, of Ince Blundell, Esq. He was the subject of a remarkable dream of Lady Clifton, of Lytham, in which she seemed to see him with his brother as well as herself, all laid out in white as if they were dead. She related this dream on the 21st April, 1673, to her husband, Sir Thomas Clifton; and two days after, the first brother, the Rev. Thomas Scarisbrick, S.J., died of fever, at the family mansion. His death was followed, on the 29th of April, by that of his brother James, the squire, from the same distemper, and Sir Thomas Clifton related the

matter to Mr. Blundell on 1st May, when they met at Scarisbrick for the funeral. He was naturally very apprehensive about his own wife, seeing that the rest of the dream had been so remarkably fulfilled. Mr. Blundell says nothing more on this subject, and the published genealogies of the Cliftons do not give the date of Lady Clifton's death. Still, my impression is, that he would not have failed to have recorded her death, if it had happened shortly after that of the others.

Although somewhat foreign to my present subject, I wish to remark, with respect to the Harkirke find, that the late Bishop Goss took considerable pains to procure a satisfactory explanation of the coins. He perhaps intended it for publication; but although I am in possession of his papers, I do not find any fair copy of the result. There are observations intended for an introduction, and several letters from those who have made this subject their particular study, and who very readily afforded him their kind assistance. The coins themselves have wholly disappeared, but Mr. Blundell caused a copperplate of thirty-two of them to be engraved, which is still at Crosby, and impressions have spread abroad. One is in the British museum; and mention of the Harkirke find is made in Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, and also in Gough's edition of *Camden's Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 137. Mr. Blundell himself took much interest in the coins which had come into his hands in so remarkable a manner, and wrote a long account of them. In this explanation he shews his acquaintance with the history of the Saxon kings and saints of that period, whom he supposed to be commemorated on the coins. It cannot, however, be relied on as an accurate description, and of course he had not the aid of the manuals which are so useful in these days as a guide to the true rendering of ancient coins. He has sometimes confounded the Saxon name of the minter with that of a royal or saintly personage. Some of the coins struck at St. Peter's Monastery, York, with the reading, "Petri moneta," he considers to have been Peter Pence. This is clearly a mistake, as there never was any special coinage for Peter Pence. The Romescot or Peter Pence was paid by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, as offerings to the Holy See are made in these days, in

the current coin of the realm. Again, it would be too much to expect, from a copperplate of that period, that accuracy of delineation without which the best endeavours at a true interpretation will necessarily fail. We all know how the seal of the Liverpool Corporation has been transformed; and the annals of this society bear abundant evidence of the legacy of controversy bequeathed by the perverse *will* of some blundering engraver. Moreover, the engraver in this case probably never saw the coins themselves, but merely drawings of them, made either by Mr. Blundell or by some one under his direction.

The name, "Harkirke" is derived from "har-cyrice," Anglo-Saxon, "the white or hoary church," and probably the tradition of the site having been once that of a church induced Mr. Blundell to select it for a burial place. The same circumstance may have led to the deposit of the treasure within what would then be considered the precincts of a holy sanctuary. As to the party to whom it belonged, it is very probable that the burial took place at the time when incursions of the Danes and other pirates were not infrequent. We have traces of Danish descents and settlements in the nomenclature of places along this coast—Formby, Ravensmeols, and Crosby are familiar instances. It may fairly be presumed that the unfortunate proprietor was either carried into captivity or met with a sudden, perhaps violent, death; so that his treasure remained untouched for no less than six centuries. The date of the deposit must have been about the year 910, as, although Edward the son of Alfred reigned till 927, there are only a few of his coins, and none of these struck later than the former year. There are a few foreign coins amongst them. One of Berengarius, King of Italy, who was killed at Verona in 924. Another of Louis III, who was King of Arles and Provence, and succeeded at one time in wresting Italy from Berengarius, but was finally conquered and had his eyes put out by his enemy. Another is a coin of Charles the Simple, King of France, who died in the year 929.

Harkirke is now included within the walls of Crosby Park, and Colonel Blundell, the present proprietor, has erected a cross to mark the site. There is one stone which records the name of

Rev. Robert Aldred, S.J., who was chaplain at Crosby, at the time of his death in 1727. A list of the burials which took place at the Harkirke is preserved at Crosby Hall.

We now come to a less pleasing result of this act of charity and religion, which happened thirteen years afterwards. This account is long, and, it must be confessed, somewhat tedious on account of the number of petty and unnecessary details with which Mr. Blundell has crowded his narrative; but an ancient document to be valuable must be given entire, and not only so, but in the exact dress in which it has been originally clothed. This course I have pursued throughout all the quotations made from the Crosby records.

"The same yeare (1624) was an inquisition at Wigan where "amongst other Catholicks William Blundell of litle Crosbie "Esq^e was found at a highe rate, which as yet hee never knew "what it was, yett fearing the worst hee caused his cattell to bee "carefully looked unto and keept close for feare of distraineing; "till uppon the 20^th day of October in the yeare affore written "when hee received twoe sundrie letters from two severall frends "that K James had forbidden and staide the proceeding of the "said comission. There uppon presently hee caused his catell "to bee turned into theire pastures but presently after uppon the "same day the servants of the said W^m Blundell and other hyred "folkes being labouring in a field far from the Hall, a man of an "other towne came rydeing by them and called uppon them and "tould them the Sherifes balies wear att hand. The servants "forthwith came to fetch the catle unknoweing to theire master "and brought thē into a strong walled cort before the hall dore. "And as they were driveing them into the court they sawe the "sherifes bailives come runing towards them but the beastes and "all the men excepting three who had not tyme for it weare "gotten into the court and the doer fast made before the balifes "came to (it). And these three men turned back againe and "staide in the way short of the oxehouse and not haveing anie "weapons but litle staves. The balies when they found the "court gate made they went swearing towards the three men "afforesaid where one of the three was with a litle stake of two

"yeards long and a grained picke in the one end of it in his "hand, to whom they gave ffowle and threatning speeches come- "ing towards them, one of the balives haveing a javelin in his "hand. The man feareing they would strike him bade them "keepe them offe from him but they comeing still uppon him "hee thrust att one of them and hitting him uppon the breast "the one graine pearsed the flesh a litle but not with anie "danger; the soune of him who was hurt stepped towards the "man who gave the thurst and receaved of him a blowe of the "head that brought him downe and riseing againe received an "other blowe on the shoulders that made him to reele. And "this was all the blowes and hurt that was done att that tyme "and all done by one onely man; M^r^ Blundell not knoweing of "it, neither knoweing of the balies coming till hee sawe the catle "within the court, he being in the house and therefore could "give noe direction in these busines. Imediatly after this S^r^ "Raphe Ashton served M^r^ Blundell and his wyfe and divers "others to appeare in the Starre Chamber uppon a Ryott and "Rescowe whereof 8 have put in theire answers and depositions "to certaine Interogatories and thereby cleared themselves. Yet "notwithstanding hee prosecuteth still against some others and "hath served an ould woman about the age of LXX years to "appeare in the Starre Chamber att Michaellmas terme next.

"Uppon St. Lawrance day (10^th^ Aug^t^) yearely in the morneing "when M^r^ Blundell was in bed Mawdesley the under Sherife "with M^r^ More and a companie of others to the number of 20 "in all came to litle Crosbie and disposed themselves some to "gather catle together others rideing in the lanes with drawne "swoards in theire hands. The Sherife meeting an ould woman "above 64 yeares of age with a pitchfork in her hand to take upp "a boate of flaxe out of the reeting place as shee tould him, hee "comanded her to lay it downe which she did. Then the "Sherife tooke it upp and gave it to one of his companie who "carried it away. Then M^r^ More coming to the Sherife hee said "'See you M^r^ More what a weapon the woman carrieth' and hee "knoweing her bade her goe home. Then shee went on her "waye upp the Lane and the Sherife ridde after her and over-

"takeing her brooke her head with the pumell of his swoard that "the bloud ranne downe her face, whereuppon shee gave him "fowle words. Then the Sherife ridde to a yong man that stoode "in the Lane with a Crabthorne Cudgell in his hand intending "to goe aboute his businesse. The Sherife gave him fowle words "and tooke his cudgell from him and stroake him on the back "with his naked swoarde flatt way and then turned againe to the "ould woman who came bleeding after him and called her Deme "dyke (the name of a famous witche) and setting the point of "his naked swoard to her brest swore he would sticke her and "saide hee cared noe more for sticking three or iiij of them then "to drinke when hee was drye.

"Then the Sherife stroake another man uppon his backe with "his naked sworde and pulled him by the heare of the heade "before the catle weare taken or anie thing done or spoken "against them and this was because hee would not runne soe "fast as they would have him, they rideing hee on foote.

"When they had gathered the catle together (viz 35 beasts and "2 horses) without shewing anie authoritie they drove them away, "when as yong M[r] Blundell with one man with him goeing to "see for what cause they tooke those catle (being his father's all "but 2 kyne) and unsent of his father and unknowing to him "asked the Sherife uppon what cause hee tooke them and willed "him to stay at Sephton or in the way till such tyme as hee had "spoken with his ffather to know his pleasure, and whilest hee "had this talke with the Sherife, a number of yong men of the "towne came to the other syde of the lane and some into the "Lane and staide awhile there. But the Sherife promising first "to stay att Sephton for an answer made proclamation that every "of the yong folks afforesaid should disperce and returne home "or about theire lawfull businesse and soe yong M[r] Blundell "went home as fast as hee could and talked with his ffather who "said that hee had a generall pardon from our Soveraigne Lord "K. Charles for all forfaitures incurred in K. James his tyme and "therefore hee thought himselfe freed from all seasures for anie "Rents arreare or the forfeiture of his goods found by Inquisition "at Wigan in the tyme of Sir Ralphe Ashton's being Sheriffe

"which was twoe yeares before. This being the sume of his "father's answer y^e^ sayd yong M^r^ Blundell hasted fast after them, "but they had driven away the catell soe fast that he was forced "to send a Protestant man, a Smith, to Ryde after them upon "another man's horse which was at his Smithie, to acquaint the "Sheriffe with his father's answer.

"But before hee could overtake them a companie of yong rash "fellowes to the number of 14 and noe more whereof 4 or 5 "never strocke stroake but onely went after the rest runne to stay "the catle and overtakeing them fell to feight with them where 2 "of these yong men were dangerously wounded and by the "Sheriffe and his followers left for dead; some 7 of the Sheriffe's "followers haveing broken heads but without danger. The man "who gave the most stroakes to the Sheriffe's followers was eldest "sonne to the widdow aforementioned whose heade the Sheriffe "broake.

"The catle the Sheriffe tooke at that tyme were worth above "£130 all of which they praysed at £58 6. 8. amongst which "catle were two geldings both which they praised to 20^s^ and after "sould the one of them to Thomas Hill Duxburie malt-maker for £3 13. 4.

"And since then the Sheriffe's Baylife hath taken from M^r^ "Blundell 29 swine worth £28 at the least, but what they are "praysed to by the Sheriffe is not yet knowen to M^r^ Blundell. "Besides the great losse hee hath now and likewyse heretofore in "his former trubles through want of the occupation of his "Demaine haveing noe catle to put into it, neither dare anie man "score anie catle into it for feare of distraineing. And all this "notwithstanding hee formerly (upon a privie seale) lent to King "James xx markes which was never Repayde and alsoe besides "the payment of duble subsidyes, &c., (at the last Parlament "saveing one appoynted to be payd by Catholiques,) hee is "charged with the finding of a light horse with his Ryder and "all furniture compleate, as also 2 Pickemen and 3 Musketeares "and theire furniture compleate. And it is to be remembered "that whereas M^r^ Roger Bradshaigh of the Haigh Esq^r^ in "behalf of M^r^ Blundell his brother (in) law did send to the sayd

"Mr Robert Modesley under sheriffe requiring hee would be "pleased to let him have the bease or goods taken from his "brother Blundell upon such a price as they were praysed to, hee "the under Sheriffe made answer yt if Mr Blundell should have "anie benefit by it hee should not have them."

The following is written in another hand :—

"Almost all above was taken out of certaine papers written by "Peter Stock an honest old servant to Mr Blundell; yet som "parts of these papers was writ by Will: Blundell himself "whoe suffred these losses. That wch next followeth was added "to one of ye same papers by ye hand (as I think) of Nicholas "Blundell son to ye said Will: Bl:."

"But since hath Sir Raphe prosecuted a Ryott against mee, "and I was censured in ye Starr Chamber to paye unto ye King "£2000 and to ye balifes 200 marks and after these costs were "given by mee to Sr Ralphe fourscore pounds. Now the prin- "cipall cause as it is credibly thought that soe great a fine was "imposed on mee was through the malitious informations of "iudge Yelverton who affirmed amongst many other things most "false that my liveing was £1000 or neare £1500 yearely.

"But I was not fined onely for the supposed Ryott but alsoe "for suffering a place of buriall in my Demaine at Crosby to such "deceased Recusants as dyeing convicted were denied buriall at "the Church. Within some feu monthes after I was fined I "sent my sonne Nicholas Blundell to Whaley to Sir Ralphe "Ashton and agreed with him paying unto him and his balifes 6 "score pounds for my selfe but hee had £40 or above of some "of the towne of Litle Crosby who were likwyse censured in the "Starr chamber for the above sayde Ryott; theire names were "Edward Ryse, Richard Brough, John Longroe, Thomas ffarrer "and Ed. Brough. The two first were fined to the King in £500 "a peece; the rest were in each £100 and to the Baylifes "amongst them £80 which they compounded as above sayde "for £40 to the Baylifes."

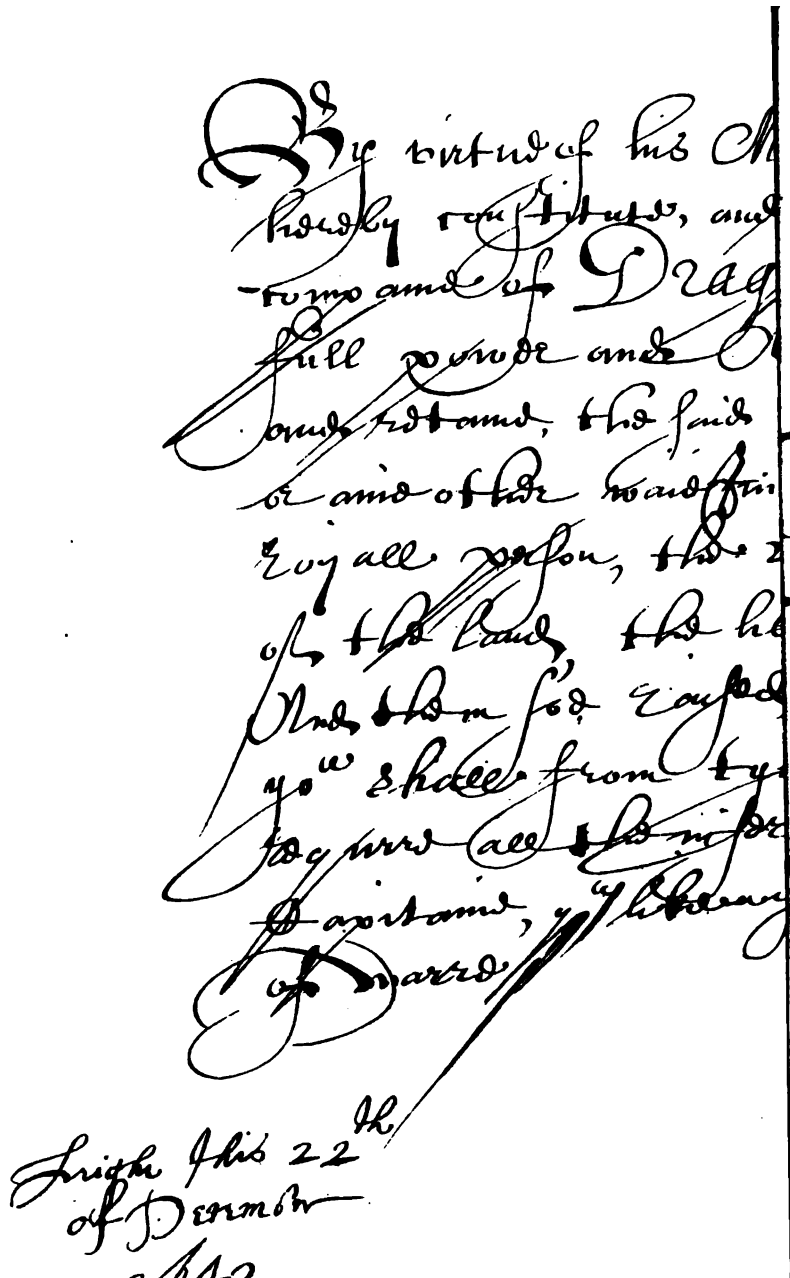
The Star Chamber, which has sometimes been called the Protestant Inquisition, visited with unsparing rigour the offences of Catholic Recusants. Only two years later it fined Sir Wm.

Norris of Speke £1000, for having struck Mr. More of Bank Hall, who, the knight thought, had been too curious in questioning the churchwardens of Childwall respecting his absence from his Parish Church. It also condemned Sir William to pay Mr. More £50 as a solatium for his wounded feelings.

It is satisfactory to be able to add that, in the case of Mr. Blundell, upon due representation of his circumstances, backed probably by some Court influence, the greater portion of the £2000 fine was remitted, and £500 finally accepted. This sum of course does not include the damages awarded; and Sir Ralph Ashton's acknowledgment of £80, his share of the spoil, accompanies this paper.

It will be seen from the foregoing narratives how great a sufferer Mr. Blundell had been for religion, and what continual annoyances and persecutions he had undergone. Later on, he was allowed the privilege of compounding for his recusancy at the rate of £30 per annum, which enabled him to spend the few last years of his life in comparative tranquillity.

I have now to introduce to the notice of the society William Blundell, the Cavalier, one of the most able and remarkable men of the Crosby race. He was grandson to the William Blundell just spoken of, and his father Nicholas died "in vitâ patris," so that, at the death of the former, in 1638, the grandson William, born in 1620, succeeded to the property at the early age of 18. He was already married, having espoused Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Haggerston, of Haggerston, co. Northumberland, when he was only 15 years old. This early marriage was no doubt entered upon for family reasons. In consequence of the death of his father, the grandfather was naturally anxious that a settlement should be made of the estate during his own life. Two-thirds of the possessions of a recusant could at any time be confiscated, and it was therefore very desirable to settle the estate in such a way that only a life interest should attach to the possessor. This was accordingly done, and it proved the salvation of the property when the whole estate came to be sold, twenty years after, by the Commonwealth, as the property of a "papist delinquent."



Fac-simile of a Commission, sign

Mr. Blundell, the Cavalier, tells us that he had a son before he was 18, and in a letter written when he was about 50, he speaks of himself as worn out and decrepid before his time, and seems to attribute it to his early marriage. He lived, however, to the advanced age of 78, and his ill health may more fairly be ascribed to the effects of the severe wound he received when his thigh was shattered by a cannon ball at the assault on Lancaster. This took place on the 18th March, 1642-3, and completely disabled him from following a martial career. He had entered the regiment of dragoons led by that valiant Lancashire hero, Sir Thos. Tildesley, undertaking to furnish 100 men for the royal cause. His commission as captain, bearing the neat signature of his commander, I have brought with me for the inspection of the Society. His losses and sufferings, as a royalist delinquent, he shared with others; but as a recusant he was far more heavily visited by fines and imprisonments. In the time of King Charles he was able to compound for his recusancy at the rate of £40 per annum; but after the Royalists had been finally conquered, all his property was seized: and as a papist delinquent, by a law passed in 1646, he was debarred from the power of redeeming his estate by any money payment. For nine or ten years his estate was in the hands of the Commissioners, and his life was one of great hardship and privation. Fortunately he had many friends, at whose houses he was hospitably entertained, and when his property was sold, the purchase was made for him by two protestant friends, one of whom was his cousin, Sir Roger Bradshaigh. A curious and very formidable addition was made to the price realised by the government, which had discovered that there were arrears of fines for recusancy to the tune of £1167 15*s.* 6½*d.* Some of these had accrued from the time of his grandfather, when several of those parties to whom his lands had been granted had neglected the payment of the rent reserved to the Crown. Mr. Blundell naturally resisted this charge, but was obliged to pay it before his estate could be released. In addition to this, he was saddled with the expense of making out the bill, which is quite a curiosity in its way. In these days it is not usual for the creditor to insist upon his debtor reimbursing him for the trouble and

expense of putting down the various items of his debt. This document is still preserved at Crosby, and, as Mr. Blundell notices, it is twenty feet long, and cost him the exact sum of £34 10*s.* 2*d.*

In 1657 he found himself a prisoner at Liverpool for recusancy. It is probable that he was confined in the Castle, whose site is now occupied by St. George's Church, and he characterises it as a loathsome prison. The following year, he procured a pass from Colonel Gilbert Ireland, and went over to the Continent with two of his daughters, who were about to embrace a religious life. They were detained at London for some time by the shutting up of the ports, which followed the death of the great Protector, Oliver Cromwell. In 1660 he was at Breda, in Holland, attracted by the gathering of the Royalists, who were preparing to escort their Sovereign, Charles, back in triumph to his dominions. He had an interview with the King the night before he embarked, and came over in the same ship, landing at Dover on May 26, 1660. He mentions an anecdote of King Charles measuring himself at a beam in the cabin; but though he and many others tried, none of the company could reach the mark. This shews that Chas. II was very tall; but perhaps his expectant followers had already assumed the rôle of courtiers, and were prudently careful not to overtop their monarch. At the accession of the King, Mr. Blundell and his fellow-recusants indulged in hopes of toleration, which were not destined to be realised. On the rumour of an intended measure of relief, the cry arose for fresh persecuting laws, and the report of the conversion of the Duke of York added fuel to the flame. However averse the King himself might be to these harsh measures, he was of too easy and careless a nature to attempt to swim against the tide. The following remarks of Mr. Blundell on this matter are well worthy of consideration, and his case and that of his co-religionists must be deemed to have been a very hard one. They occur in a letter, dated May 14, 1673, addressed to his friend, Mr. Richd. Langhorne, a Counsellor-at-Law, who was one of the innocent victims who suffered death through the perjury of Titus Oates.

"You think we are all asleep and that we shall be eating and

"drinking, marrying and giving in marriage when the storm and "the flood come. Shall I tell you my fancy? Perhaps you will "say it is a wild one. I think that none but madmen can "execute those cruel things that are threatened against his "Majesty's Catholic subjects. And if men be really mad there "is no defence against them by paper walls. In my younger "days our next Justice of the Peace (Col[l] Moore of Bank Hall) "sent one of my tenants, a soldier of the trained bands, to the "gaol for refusing the oath of allegiance. He was prisoner a "year or two and being at last released in time for the war he "took up arms for the king, and lived and died (with his poor "estate sequestered) a loyal Catholic subject whilst that very "same Justice of the Peace was one of the King's Judges and "died (for aught I know) an unrepenting rebel. I knew no "leading rebel about those times who was not (as I confidently "think) a notable taker or tenderer of the oath of allegiance, nor "any one Catholic refuser who proved disloyal to his king. God "grant us a better test of allegiance, a more lucky oath.

"I have a villainous book of Prynne's printed in 1643 where "he endeavours to prove by the records of sundry kingdoms "that the people had authority to depose and resist their kings, "to call them to strict account, and when they saw just cause for "it, to proceed capitally against them. According to these same "grounds, King Charles 1[st] was beheaded. When the bloody "deed was done, Milton and sundry others by writing, and "thousands of others by the sword defended it as just. Yet "Milton and those are pardoned and live in security. Prynne "as is very well known was an eminent Parliament man, a mortal "foe to the Papists, and was cherished with a very fair salary and "with singular places of trust since the King came in. I think "we do not seek for preferment. For my own part I am sure I "only plead pro domo mea, for the same house and lands which "I lost for my duty to the King, to a pack of those arch-villains "and purchased it from them after 9 or 10 years sequestration, "with money which I borrowed. My limbs, my goods, my "liberty I lost on the same account. Many of ours lost life and "all. And our and our greatest enemies principles are still the

"same. If we must therefore beg or hang I pray, God bless the "King and the will of God be done."

In 1680 Mr. Blundell received from Sir Roger Bradshaigh, who had procured it from the Earl of Ancram, a list of Popish Recusants of the greatest quality in Lancashire, who were to be banished by Act of Parliament. This was one of the results of the ferment excited by the Titus Oates' plot, but was found to be too severe a measure to be carried into execution. Caryll, Viscount Molyneux, heads the list, which comprises sixty-four names, including those of Mr. Blundell and his son and heir. The former had previously applied to Government for a pass to go abroad, and was informed that he could have one if he entered into recognizances not to return to the kingdom without a license. This shews that some such measure as the above was in contemplation. Mr. Blundell indignantly refused a permission coupled with so hard a condition, and thus expresses himself in a letter to Lord Ancram :—

"21 Aug$^{t}$ 1679. . . . I have engaged in £500 already "not to travel to Rome and now to banish myself by a deliberate "act of my own from my native and best beloved country I have "not the heart to do. I should certainly forfeit my bond if "nothing else would effect my return. I would rather be confined "again (as once in the prime of my youth for the noblest cause "in the world) to my plundered bare walls and a pair of crutches "than to lead the life of an outlaw. I desire as the case now "stands rather to keep my profession till the law of the land or "of nature do turn me out."

During the short reign of king James II, he, with other recusants, experienced a momentary gleam of sunshine, but this was soon followed again by clouds and storms. In 1689, he underwent his fifth imprisonment, being taken with others of his faith to Manchester, by virtue of a warrant from Lord Gerard of Brandon, then lord-lieutenant of Lancashire, as a measure of security to prevent any rising of the partisans of the dethroned monarch. This imprisonment lasted seven weeks; and the last years of this old Cavalier were spent at Crosby in comparative tranquillity. Like all other recusants at that period he was

obliged to enter into recognizances, not to travel without a license beyond five miles of his own residence. In January, 1691, he writes to a friend in London :—

"Since my discharge at the assizes I have not stirred from "home yet my son and my servant have made good use in my "behalf (so far as their five miles chain will reach) of those 2 "horses for which you were kindly pleased to procure me a "license. We have now no disturbance at all, and if I be not "greatly mistaken, all my friends here and hereabout are so "sensible of this present ease that they will not easily lose it "through any demerit. It is but 9 or 10 months since my own "in-foal mares were taken out of my grounds and sold to my "neighbours. Our colts were then taken at 2 or 3 years of age "and about that time it was that my servant returning unarmed "from the next market was assailed upon the road with pistol "and bayonet, whereby some blood was drawn, because he "would not yield his horse (which in truth was a very mean one) "to an officer of our Country's militia who refused to show an "order for seizing the same. We have none of these doings now. "We may sit very securely under our own vines, and we have "reason to pray for the King. I am sure without his favour (a "favour I confess unexpected) we had all been a prey to the law "or rather perhaps to the rabble."

Mr. Blundell's eventful life closed in 1698. Four years previously his son and heir had been seized and hurried to prison as being concerned in the sham plot, of which many of the chief Lancashire Catholic gentry were so unjustly accused. The Chetham Society has published an account of this nefarious conspiracy, under the head of the "Manchester State Trials of "1694," and the late Bishop Goss edited for the same society some additional particulars, drawn from original documents at Crosby Hall.

Mr. Blundell, the Cavalier, was possessed of much natural ability, and however scanty his early education must have been, since he was married at fifteen, yet a solid foundation was undoubtedly laid. His own industry and application added the

rest, and he cultivated letters to the end of his life. There are now at Crosby several manuscript books, closely written in his small but neat and clear handwriting. Some of these are what are now called common-place books, and are evidently worked out upon the plan which Drexelius, a learned Jesuit writer of the early part of 17th century, recommends in his Auro-fodina. His method, indeed, has found much favour with literary men. William Windham, the eminent statesman, in his diary, speaks of his "Historica" and "Adversaria," titles given by Drexelius, and used by Mr. Blundell a hundred years before. It seems highly probable that Windham learnt this plan from Dr. Johnson, who is known to have been his counsellor in such matters. The passages extracted from works, many of which are now obsolete, may not be of much value; but the remarks and anecdotes which Mr. Blundell has frequently added, and which were derived from his own observation, are often of great interest. These are now being prepared for publication; and his letters also, which are numerous, are well worth preservation. Specimens of both are given in a sketch of his life, under the title of "a Loyal "Catholic Cavalier," which appeared in four consecutive numbers of the *Month*, ending with January of the present year.

I have now brought this Century of Recusancy to a close, and no comment is needed. The facts cited speak for themselves. They prove that the Blundells (like many other families in the kingdom) lived for generations under a great social ban. They were harassed with fines and imprisonments, and subjected to various disabilities, for holding principles which they still hold, though under more fortunate conditions; and from all that has appeared in this paper it is clear, that one thing they valued above their social position and comfort, above their estates, nay, more than life itself, and that was the faith which had been theirs when Henry II ruled England, and Richard the lion-hearted was leading the armies of the Crusaders.

# NOTES, HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN,

RELATING TO

# LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

*By J. Harris Gibson.*

(Read March 6th, 1879, and during the Session.)

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MANY interesting and important fragments of history relating to the two counties yet remain undiscovered, and many an existing memoir would be none the worse for revision or re-attribution.

Unrecorded events, customs, or changes can be gathered from every township and village, and much that is erroneous or of doubtful authenticity, found in "County History," may be re-examined and exposed.

There is therefore much material for archæological labour in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the willing searcher may enrich our local records from sources which are by no means yet exhausted.

My purpose is, as much as possible, and at intervals, to bring before this Society only inedited notices or sketches of Lancashire and Cheshire Archæology, Numismata, Biography, Folklore, Customs, &c., but more especially such as refer to our own town and neighbourhood. My aim will be truth and accuracy, and I wont trouble the Society with long extracts from the labours of others.

I must here thank Mr. C. Potter for allowing me to place before you the coins which have been recently found on the Meols beach, Cheshire.

Since summer, 1878, only a few coins have been found

at Meols, and these are but ordinary types. The pieces of any rarity or numismatic value, are the half or part of a William I penny, attributed to Rufus, and the Ipswich penny of Henry II; the latter being well preserved, though badly minted. The miscellaneous pieces not found on the beach are interesting, and serve to illustrate several almost forgotten incidents in local history.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042—66, from the Meols Beach. *Coll. C. Potter.*

A divided Penny; half. *Type:* Profile to the left, and sceptre. *Rev.:* A voided cross on the centre, four conjoined curves or crescents, the points or junctions terminating in knobs or pellets. ON . LEI . (Leicester.) The letters on the half obverse are indistinct, though the profile is good and well struck.

WILLIAM I or II, 1066—87; 1087—1100. Meols Beach.

A divided Penny; half. *Type:* Full face, crowned, a star of six points on either side. EX . (REX) and m.m. a cross pattée. *Rev.:* a cross, the limbs terminating in three pellets; on the centre a small circle and curved square; a pellet on the points. This type has been attributed to William Rufus; but as this is only conjecture, I have classified it under the above heading.

HENRY II; last mintage.

A doubled or folded half, unbroken. This interesting example shews the method by which halfpennies or halves were converted into quarters or farthings (fourthings). It was found on the Meols beach in this state, evenly bent, before breaking.

PENNY, HENRY II, 1154—89, found on the Meols Beach, Cheshire, 1878.

The pennies of the first mintage of Henry II, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, are for the most part very irregular in form and badly minted, a perfect specimen being seldom met with. They read—HENRI . REX . ANGL. The reverses have the moneyer's name and place of mintage.

The penny from the shore shews a full face of the king; sceptre resting on the right shoulder; part of the letters only distinct. *Rev.:* A cross within a circle; small crosses in the angles. Moneyer's name clipped almost to the circle; place of mintage perfect, and reads—ON : GIPES + (Ipswich). This is perhaps the first piece, minted at Ipswich, found in this locality.

PENNY, HENRY III, 1216—72, from the Meols Beach.

*Obv.:* HENRICVS . REX III; full face and sceptre. *Rev.:* NICOLE . ON . CANT (Canterbury); long cross; pellets in the angles.

EDWARD I, 1272—1307, Meols Beach.

Halfpenny. EDW . R . ANGL . DNS . HYB. *Rev.:* CIVITAS . LONDON; well preserved.

Halfpenny; Dublin mint; Meols beach. Head within a triangle, apex downwards. EDW. R. *Rev.:* CIVITAS . DVBLINIE; broken, but otherwise well preserved.

PENNY, EDWARD III, 1327—77; Meols Beach.

*Obv.:* EDWARD . R. ANGL . DNS . HYB. *Rev.:* VILL . SCI EDMVNDI . (St. Edmundsbury); well preserved.

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LIVERPOOL 17TH CENTURY TOKEN, inedited.

*Coll. J. H. G.*

In Mr. Boyne's* *Catalogue of 17th Century Tokens*, seven of Liverpool are recorded, viz.:—

1. *Obv.:* CHARLES CHRISTIAN; a castle. *Rev.:* GROCER IN LIVERPOOLE—HIS PENNY, 1669.
2. *Obv.:* ADDAM CRVMPTON—A. C. *Rev.:* IN LEVERPOOL—1657—*(farthing)*.
3. *Obv.:* RICHARD CRVMPTON; Hope seated on an anchor. *Rev.:* OF LIVERPOOLE, 1667—HIS HALF PENY.
4. *Obv.:* ROGER . GORSVCH . MERCER—the babes in the wood. *Rev.:* IN . LEVERPOOLE . 1672—HIS PENY (heart shape).
5. *Obv.:* THOMAS . IOHNSON—The Grocers' Arms. *Rev.:* IN

* Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales, and Ireland; by Wm. Boyne, F.S.A., p. 152.

LIVERPOOLE . 1666 . HIS HALF PENY. Thomas Johnson was Bailiff of Liverpool in 1663, and Mayor in 1670. He was father of Sir Thomas Johnson, afterwards M.P. for Liverpool.

6. *Obv.:* IOHN . PEMBERTON—The Apothecaries' Arms. *Rev.:* IN . LIVERPOOLE . 1666—HIS HALF PENY. He was Bailiff of Liverpool in 1660, and built the first house erected in Moore Street. In the "Moore Rental," published by the Chetham Society, he is described as "John "Pemberton the Apothecary."

7. *Obv.:* EDWARD WILLIAMSON . OF; The Drapers' Arms. *Rev.:* LIVERPOOLE . ALDERMAN — HIS HALFE PENNY. Edward Williamson was Mayor of Liverpool in 1663. Williamson Square and Street are called after him.

The unrecorded piece is a farthing. *Obv.:* RALPH HALL—1661. *Rev.:* OF . LIVERPOOLE . R . E . H . The latter letters are his own and wife's initials; H for Hall.

This small brass money was used for the convenience of trade, and issued by the corporations of cities and boroughs, country villages, companies, and tradespeople.

The pieces consisted of pence, halfpence, and farthings, and were either heart-shaped, octagonal, or round. In larger towns, where different tokens were current, the shopkeeper kept a sorting box, divided by partitions, by which he kept each tradesman's money separate; when he had collected a sufficient quantity of one sort, he received from the owner an equivalent in silver. The issue of copper farthings by Charles II, 1672, entirely superseded the use of this "necessary change."

CHESTER HALFPENNY, 1667, found in Liverpool. *Coll. J. H. G.*
*Obv.:* IAMES KNOWSLEY; The Arms of Chester, three garbs. *Rev.:* OF CHESTER . 1667 . HIS HALFE PENNY. James Knowsley was Sergeant-at-Mace in the Mayoralty of William Edwards in 1646.*

LIVERPOOL HALFPENNY, found November, 1878, when taking

* Boyne's Tokens.

down part of an old house No. 16, Colquitt Street. This piece is the well known Liverpool halfpenny.

*Obv.:* The Town Arms and Motto—DEUS NOBIS HÆC OTIA FECIT. *Rev.:* A ship and LIVERPOOL HALFPENNY. *Edge:* PAYABLE AT THE WAREHOUSE OF THOMAS CLARKE.

There are many varieties of this token, but nearly all are counterfeits. The piece found in Colquitt Street is one originally issued by Mr. Clarke,* and manufactured by John Gregory Hancock, Die Sinker, Birmingham. Among the counterfeits often met with, some have the edge reading—"payable at the "warehouse Liverpool," "payable at London or Anglesey," &c.; others are without lettering, the edge being either smooth or milled.

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LEYLAND'S ELECTION, Liverpool, 1816. SILVER MEDAL.
*Coll. J. H. G.*

The candidates for Parliamentary honours at this election, which commenced June 7, 1816, were George Canning and Thomas Leyland. At the close of the poll the numbers were—for Canning, 1280; for Leyland, 738. Each person who voted for Mr. Leyland received a silver medal, weighing nearly three-quarters of an ounce.

*Obv.:* The Liver standing upon sedgy ground, the sea and a ship and two sloops in the distance. *Legend:* LIVERPOOL BE FREE. *Rev.* (inscribed): ONE OF THE INDEPENDENT MINORITY . 738 . WHO VOTED FOR THOS. LEYLAND ESQ. AT THE LIVERPOOL ELECTION 1816. A mural crown, and recipient's name engraved above; pierced for suspension. This medal was engraved by Halliday.

I have five. The engraved names of the voters are:—Thos. Gerard, R. S. Tate, Josh. Bennet, William McKee, and Thos. Haswell. The name of the latter only appears in the Directory for 1816, where he is described as a bootmaker, 21, Oldhall Street. The medals were purchased by subscription. The

* Thomas Clarke kept the grocery warehouse, 66 and 67, Cable Street. He was succeeded by Mr. Sedman Parker.

following advertisement appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury*, of Friday, 19th July, 1816 :—

"MEDALS FOR THE 738 FREEMEN—Subscription Books are "now open for the purpose of procuring Silver Medals for the "738 Freemen who, at the late Election, had the spirit to assert "their independence."

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"ETNA" STEAM PACKET, 1817. PASSENGER'S TICKET.

*Coll. J. H. G.*

Copper Tally or Check. *Obv.:* The Liver above; PRO BONO PUBLICO—below PASS$^{R}$ (passenger) engraved. *Rev.* inscribed: ETNA . 1817 and PASS$^{R}$.

The "Etna"* Tranmere Ferry Steam Packet commenced running from the New Slip, at the west side of the Queen's dock graving docks, on Saturday morning, the 26th April, 1817, at seven o'clock, and to carry passengers at the following rates :— on Sundays 4d., working days 3d.; market people allowed to carry three baskets or hampers without additional charge.

The "Etna" was built in a yard near the Queen's dock, and launched in March, 1817. She "consisted of two vessels 65 feet "in length, connected by beams, and over the whole a deck "28 feet wide, and propelled by a wheel placed in the centre."†

It has been said that the "Etna" was the first steamer that plied on the Mersey; this is incorrect. On June 30th, 1816, at five o'clock in the morning, a steam packet left Runcorn, and arrived at Liverpool at seven, completing the voyage in two hours.‡ Again, on September 6th, 1816, the public were informed, that "the new and elegant Steam Packet, the 'Princess Charlotte,' "would go from the New Parade Slip every morning, at eight "o'clock, and every afternoon at three, to Eastham (for Chester). "The fare to Eastham and back, one shilling each." By this announcement it will be seen that vessels propelled by steam power plied on the Mersey nearly twelve months before the "Etna" crossed from this side to the old Tranmere Ferry.

* *Liverpool Mercury*, Friday, Aprnl 25th, 1817.
† *Liverpool Mercury*, February 28th, 1817. ‡ *Liverpool Mercury*, July 5th, 1816.

COPPER TICKET, from Liverpool to Hoylake, 1821.

*Found at Hoylake.—Coll. C. Potter.*

*Obv.:* (within a circle) HOYLAKE inscribed; above, outside the circle, BEST CABIN; below, 1821. *Rev.:* The same.

This broad tally or check was given to passengers on receipt of fare for the journey, by the steamboat "Cambria," from Liverpool to Hoylake.

The vessel was launched in May, 1821, and commanded by Captain Joseph Williams. She measured "90 feet in length, and "was propelled by two engines."* The "Cambria" commenced sailing daily from St. George's Dock, Pierhead, on the 15th June, to Bagillt, calling at Hoylake "in passing, to receive and land "passengers." The "Cambria" Packet Office was at Mr. Grerows', 20, Nova Scotia. Information also could be obtained at the Saracen's Head, Dale street.

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LIVERPOOL TOKEN.

*Obv.:* HORSE ARTILLERY; a mounted horse artillery soldier.

*Rev.:* WANTED FOR THE EAST INDIES—APPLY AT THE LONDON ROAD, LIVERPOOL.

A brass token or check, farthing size, and used at the rendezvous for East India recruits, No. 1, Audley Street, London Road. This office was opened about the year 1823, and closed about 1832. In 1829 the General Recruiting Office was at 19, Falkland Street; it was afterwards removed to Boundary Place, Low Hill, and in 1839 to No. 19, Prescot Street, the corner of Moira Street. There was also in 1827 a rendezvous for volunteer seamen at the bottom of Greenland Street.

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MINIATURE PORTRAITS BY MRS. LIGHTFOOT, LIVERPOOL.

I have not been able to ascertain when this lady lived, or where she resided. The advertisement pasted on the back of the portraits is undated and gives no address; but, from the style of costume, we may, however, fix the time somewhere about the year 1780.

* *Liverpool Mercury*, May, 1821.

The profile portraits are those of two ladies and a gentleman, evidently members of the same family. The ladies are attired in pretty mob caps, of a medium height, according to the prevailing fashion; the young gentleman in a close, short tye wig and cravat. Mrs. Lightfoot's process was the silhouette or profile, taken in shade, and transferred or painted on a smooth surface of Plaster of Paris. The following is the advertisement attached to the portraits :—

PERFECT
LIKENESSES
IN MINIATURE PROFILE,
taken by
MRS. LIGHTFOOT, LIVERPOOL,
And reduced on a plan entirely new, which preserves the most exact symmetry and animated expression of the FEATURE much superior to any other method.

TIME OF SITTING ONE MINUTE.

N.B.—She keeps the original shades, and can supply those she has once taken with any number of duplicates. Those who have shades by them may have them reduced, and dressed in the present taste.

*All orders addressed to* MRS. LIGHTFOOT, *Liverpool, will be punctually dispatched.*

A RELIC OF THE ROYAL VISIT TO LIVERPOOL, SEPTEMBER, 1806.

This interesting and perhaps unique memento of the visit of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence to Liverpool, not only displays considerable ingenuity and enthusiasm, but conveys to us the actual appearance of the Town Hall during the illumination.

The small picture represents the civic building carefully drawn on cardboard, stretched on a wooden frame, 6¼ inches, and perforated to shew the illumination, from the figure of Britannia and the top of the dome to the basement. On the lower windows are the letters G. P. W.—George Prince of Wales; and "Long

"live the Prince." The time indicated by the clock is half-past ten, when no doubt the artist was present, and stood in Castle street.

The fac-simile of the illumination is best seen when the drawing is held up to the light.

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AN OLD LIVERPOOL SERMON PREACHED BY CHRISTOPHER BASSNETT, AND DEDICATED TO BRYAN BLUNDELL, THE FOUNDER OF THE BLUE COAT HOSPITAL.

This is an addition to Dr. Dawson's "Pamphlet Literature of "Liverpool."* The sermon is interesting in several particulars. It was preached in Liverpool, to a ship's company, by a Presbyterian minister, on Thursday, December 13th, 1711, and the following Sunday; published, as recorded in the imprimatur, in 1712; and dedicated to one who was a public benefactor, and whose memory is still revered as the founder of the Blue Coat Hospital. The title runs thus :—

*The Seaman's Character and Calling considered and improved.*

IN A

SERMON

Begun to a

SHIP'S COMPANY,

*Upon Thursday, December the 13th.*

The remaining Part Preach'd the following *Lord's Day*, in the Afternoon, at the New Meeting-House in Leverpool, MDCCXI.

BY CHRISTOPHER BASSNET.

LONDON:

Printed for *John Clark* at the *Bible and Crown* in the *Old Change*, and sold by *Dan. Birchal* in Leverpool, MDCCXII.

*Price Six Pence.*

The gentleman to whom this sermon is dedicated was Mr. Bryan Blundell, Captain of the "Cleveland."

* *Transactions*, Hist. Soc., vol. xvii, p. 73.

The preacher, in the dedication, quaintly but most truthfully observes, that,—"It was upon your account my good friend that "I preached this Sermon. I have resolved upon the publication, "not for the sake of any Curiosity in the Composition, but for "the good Example it presents the world with. Could I alledge "no other reason, I should reckon it very sufficient, that hereby "I have an opportunity of shewing to men of your Profession "and way, the rare and Singular good Pattern that you have set "'em, who never put out to or return from Sea. Beside this, I "thought it might not be amiss, to let some People see, how we "spend our Time on such Occasions as that which has given Rise "to this Sermon. Acting upon wise and calm principles, you "are not to be moved with mere hurry and violence: these are "no proper Instruments to gain upon the Wise, the Sober, the "Rational Part of Mankind: However successful they may be "in animating the Mobile, which naturally runs into Disorder "and Tumult; and therefore are joyned in Scripture with a very "Unruly Element, which you have had plentiful experience of; "The Noise of the Seas, the Noise of their Waves, and after "these you know comes the Tumult of the People. Every "Body, my Friend, is ready to acknowledge your Worth, and to "rejoice in your Success and Prosperity.

"Your Friend

"Toxteth Park, *near* "*and*

"Leverpool, *March 1st* "Humble Servant,

"17$\frac{11}{12}$." "C. BASSNETT."

I am not aware that it is recorded in any biographical notice of Mr. Bryan Blundell that he commanded the good ship "Cleveland," or that a sermon, especially prepared for seamen, was preached on his account, and by his desire. Mr. Bassnett mentions this in the commencement of his dedication; he again alludes to it in the conclusion of his discourse.

"I should have thought," says the preacher, "my Time but "indifferently spent, and I am sure I had directly crossed the "Intentions of him, at whose Request it is that I have been "speaking to you."

Little, however, is known of the early history of the founder of the Blue Coat Hospital. The Rev. Mr. Neale, in his short memoir,* says, "Many, but vain, have been my efforts to procure "documents which would throw light on the early life of this "self-denying man. The utmost that I could obtain was the "following note from a near descendant of the philanthropist. "The lady writes:—'The papers left at my much-respected "'ancestor's decease have passed through so many different "'hands that I fear there are very few, if any, documents "'relating to his early history now in existence.'"

From the few short notices of this worthy benefactor which have, from time to time, been published, we glean the following. He was born in the year 1674. In early life he became a sailor, and, according to Mr. Picton,† "sailed as captain from the port "of Liverpool, and by industry and integrity acquired means to "purchase a vessel, which he commanded himself." This may have been the "Cleveland," which ship it is certain he commanded in the year 1711. He would then be in his 38th year, the time when he determined to establish a school for poor children, which ultimately resulted in the foundation of the Blue Coat Hospital. Commencing business as a merchant, he was so far successful as to be able to devote a tenth part of his income for the benefit of his favourite institution. He was twice Mayor of Liverpool, 1721 and 1728, and died, full of years and honour, in 1756, aged 82; he was buried on the south side of St. Nicholas' Church. His portrait hangs in the board room of the School. "There is in the picture all the roughness of the "sailor, all the hardihood, all the daring;"

> "A noble race they are, with all their faults!
> "What other land can grow them?"

The old chapel in Key street‡ was purchased by the Church of England in 1791.§ It was consecrated and opened for Divine service as St. Matthew's in 1795, and continued as such until 1849, when it was taken down, the site being required for the

* Rev. Erskine Neale, M.A. *The Riches that bring no sorrow.* London, 1852.
† *Memorials of Liverpool.*
‡ For a view of St. Matthew's Church, see Proceedings Hist. Soc., vol. v, p. 20.
§ The old congregation removed with their pastor, Mr. John Yates, to the New Chapel in Paradise street, now the Colosseum.

new Exchange Station or terminus of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.

Mr. Christopher Bassnett was the first minister of the Presbyterian Chapel in Key street. The building was opened for Divine worship in 1707, and is no doubt the "New Meeting "House in Liverpool," where the sermon was preached to a ship's company forming the crew of the "Cleveland," Captain Bryan Blundell.

We gather from the pamphlet that Mr. Bassnett enjoyed the friendship of Captain Blundell. He says in his dedication :— "I have done, when I have thank'd you for the large share that "you have allow'd me in your Friendship, and for the tender "sympathy that you experess'd towards me, in that very Gloomy "Dispensation which of late I have been under."*

There is a degree of quaintness and humour noticeable in the discourse. "Shipping," he says, "is a great and noble Invention, "it is the strength and Bulwark, the riches and ornament of a "nation ; especially such a One as ours is, which is encompassed "with the Sea, and environed with the vast deep : A shovel-ful "of Earth thrown up in the midst of the Sea." Again :—"Idle "Sailors are great burdens at Sea ; and it is much better having "their Room than their Company ; such men are but bad "ballast and yet that is the best thing you can make of 'em on "Ship-board." About the time that this sermon was delivered, Mr. Picton says,—"Liverpool had no inducement to enter into "the slave trade. In 1709 a single barque of 30 tons burden, "from Liverpool, made a venture, and carried fifteen slaves "across the Atlantic. Nothing more was done for the next "twenty-one years."†

Mr. Bassnett very cautiously alludes to this infamous business, in speaking of "the *Guinea Trade*, so far as it relates to the *Negroes*." He says—"For tho' 'tis a Trade that the laws of our "Country allow us to follow, yet it carries considerable Difficulties "along with it, to which it is not easie to return clear and satis- "factory Answers. Supposing the calling should be in itself

* Mr. Basnett died in 1744.
† Picton's *Memorials of Liverpool*, 2nd edit., vol. i, 193.

"lawful, in order to render it innocent to those that are engaged "in it, Such should see that they treat these poor miserable "people with humanity; they should at least take care, that they "don't deal unmercifully by 'em. They should show 'em some "respect, if not for their own sakes, yet for the sake of the "*Common Humane Nature* which they wear, they should not be "cruel to, nor *hide Themselves from their own flesh.*"

From this short extract it might be inferred that the crew of the "Cleveland" were not unacquainted with the trafic alluded to. The vessel may have traded on the African coast, and shipped slaves for some western port; hence the gentle admonition.

The foregoing short memoir of two individuals once honoured in their day is a small addition to the little that is recorded.

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### The "Eyes" Bookplate.

This may be regarded more as an example of fancy heraldry than an accurate display of family arms. True, Mr. Chas. Eyes may have received a grant "for his own use" from Herald's College; but, looking at the charge, which is all "Eyes," and simply alludes to the name, in all probability he invented, designed, and assumed it himself.

The form of the shield is an ornamented, irregular oval, and blazoned—Gules, three eyes, two above one, proper. *Crest:* A Cockatrice. *Motto:* "Nil visu dulcius." Underneath—"Chas. Eyes, Liverpool."

The Eyes family were long settled in Liverpool. Mr. Charles Eyes was an architect and surveyor, at No. 1, Basnett street. He is well known as the publisher of a map of Liverpool in 1785; he was also architect of the old Music Hall, Bold street.

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### Quarter Noble, Edward III, 1327—77.

*Found on the Meols beach, March, 1879.—Coll. C. Potter.*

Notices of finds of gold coins on the Cheshire shore are exceedingly scanty. Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, in Dr. Hume's *Ancient Meols*, mentions only two pieces, viz., a half-noble, Edward III, "known only from description;" and a double-

crown, James I, type : HENRICUS . ROSAS . REGNA . JACOBUS . However nothing whatever is known of the half-noble, and its identity is based only upon presumptive evidence. As regards the double-crown, it may have been found somewhere inland, or, if on the beach, certainly not washed from the peat soil.

Mr. Smith, probably in allusion to the discovery of either one or both of these coins, says :—"The young son of a Hoylake "fisherman picked up at low water, in the latter part of the year, "a gold piece; but on his way to Birkenhead, where he had "thought to dispose of it, the coin was somehow lost. The only "other mediæval coin in gold of which we remember to have "heard, was disposed of by the finder's mother to a Jew pedlar. "Thus both have been lost to Collectors."

It must be a matter of much satisfaction to the members of the Historic Society that they have now the opportunity of recording, for the first time, the discovery of a piece of gold money on the Meols Beach, and Mr. Potter may indeed be congratulated on adding an uncommon acquisition to his numerous and valuable collection.

This collection of ancient Cheshire coins (which represents a definite period, from the Roman occupation to the reign of Edward III), is now becoming one of much local interest; all, without exception, having been loosened and washed by successive tides from the peaty surface-soil, which underlies the North Wirral sandhills in the neighbourhood of the Dove landmarks.

The quarter-noble, Edward III, was found a short distance west of the Dove marks, on or about the 20th March, 1879, during the prevalence of strong east winds, which, at this time of the year, usually visit the coast. Mr. Potter secured the coin on Saturday, March 22nd, together with a number of personal ornaments, in bronze and pewter, of the Norman or Plantagenet period.

Description. *Obv.:* * EDWARD ⁂ DEI ⁂ GRA ⁂ REX ⁂ ANGL. A beaded shield quartering first and fourth France ancient, second and third England, within a double tressure of eight curves.

*Rev.:* * EXALTABITVR ⁂ IN ⁂ GLORIA. A cross fleury terminating in fleurs-de-lis, a fleur-de-lis in the centre, a lion passant in each angle, within a double tressure of eight curves; weight 24 grains. In a good state of preservation, slight detrition only being noticeable.

The half-noble, with the rather uncommon central ornament, a fleur-de-lis, is usually assigned to this monarch's 27th year, or 1353, though we have no positive evidence for such attribution. The coin may have been minted a few years later, but not earlier, and may be regarded as "entirely English," the titles France and Ireland being omitted. It will be observed that the arms of France occupy the principal quarter in the shield; they were assumed by King Edward in his 14th year, which was publicly announced by writ, dated April 16, 1340.

"He chaunged his armes, in banners and pennons,
"And in his seale, quartered of both regions.
"And in the yere then of his reygne thyrtene,
"His armes chaunged, and called Kyng of Fraunce."

The old arms of France, or *France Ancient*, is an azure field semée-de-lis; this was changed by the French king in 1364 to a field charged with three golden lis, or *France Modern*. The change in England was first adopted in the reign of Henry IV, 1399—1413.

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FOREIGN STERLINGS. Found on the Meols Beach.

*Coll. C. Potter.*

The presence of foreign sterlings* among the heterogeneous waifs picked up on the Cheshire shore, are evidences of a monetary element circulating in this country different to the authorized legal currency.

Three of these have been found during recent years. The first is of Hainault, and was minted at Valenciennes.

*John II, Count of Hainault, 1280—1304.*

*Obv.:* ⁂ I ⁂ COMES ⁂HANONIE; m.m. a cross patée. *Rev.:* VAL—ENC—NEN—ENS (Valenciennes), divided by a long plain cross, inner beaded circle, and three pellets in each of the angles.

* Value equivalent to a penny.

John D'Avesne, Count of Hainault and Holland, was grandson of Bouchard D'Avesne, the husband of Margaret, Countess of Hainault and Flanders. His father, John I, declared heir to the County of Hainault by the peers of France in 1246, died during the lifetime of his mother, in the year 1257. John II succeeded in 1280, and died in 1304. His son William the Good following, died at Valenciennes 1337. This prince was father of Philippa, who was married to King Edward III at York, 1327.

*Sterling of Herstal.*

*Obv.:* IOHANNES ◦ DE ◦ LOVANIO; m.m. a cross patée; full face; head bare. *Rev.:* DNS DE ◦ HAR . . EL (Harstel), Dominus de Harstal; long cross, three pellets in each angle. This coin is attributed to John I of Louvain, and Lord of Herstal, 1285—1309.

Louvain *(Louvanium)* is a town in Belgium. In the 14th century it was the capital of Brabant, and residence of its princes. Herstal or Heristall *(Haristalium)* is a town on the Meuse, three miles north of Liége. It had formerly an ancient castle, the residence of the Lords of Herstal; later it was included in the duchy of Lower Lorraine, and afterwards granted as an appanage to the younger sons of the dukes of Brabant. In 1546 it was united to the principality of Liége. From this illustrious house descended Pepin the Short, Lord of Herstal, and father of Charlemagne, the first of the Carlovingian kings.

*Sterling of Gaucher II, Count of Porcien.*

*Obv.:* * GALCHS . COMES . PORC—Galch*erus* comes Porc*iensis;* full face, crowned; m.m. a cross patée. *Rev.:* MONET . NOVA . VVE; long cross, three pellets in each angle. Struck at Ive.

Porcien (Porcensis or Porcianus) was a principality of France, and situated in Champagne. It was sold by Raoul de Château Porcien in 1268 to Thibaut King of Navarre, Count of Champagne. Passing to Philipe le Bel, that monarch gave it in 1303 to Gaucher II of Châtillon, Constable of France, in exchange for the lordship of Châtillon-sur-Marne. Gaucher married, 1314, Isabelle de Rumigny, widow of Thibaut II Duke of Lorraine, and died in 1329.

# THE MAP-HISTORY OF THE COAST FROM THE DEE TO THE DUDDON.
# A SEARCH FOR THE BELISAMA OF HORSLEY.

*By T. G. Rylands, F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S.*

(Read January 23rd, 1879.)

IN a paper which I read before this Society rather more than a year ago, you will find the following words respecting Mr. Horsley:—"He says the Belisama, from its situation, must "be the Mersey"; and "but Horsley's 'must be' (as he gives no "reason for the statement) is of little more value than Camden's "etymology."*

To say this with regard to some men might be all very well, but I have often felt since, that, in the case of Horsley, it was not so. He was so thoroughly cautious and conscientious that, had there been the slightest doubt in his own mind, he would not have thus summarily dismissed the subject. Horsley's "*must be*" meant *of necessity*. There was, with him, no doubt or question about it; and yet we know that a considerable error exists in Ptolemy's map and description—a double error, indeed, in the copy which Horsley used.

These thoughts led me to the following enquiry, which I hope has interest sufficient to justify this paper.

As Horsley did not live in the days of Admiralty charts and Ordnance surveys, he was bound by the less perfect geographical knowledge of his time. His authority as to Ptolemy we know was the Bertius-Mercator Theatrum Geographiæ Veteris; and, "for this night only," we must adopt it accordingly.

As to modern geography, we cannot hope to ascertain all the materials he used, but this question may be approached from

* Historic Society *Transactions*, vol. xxx, p. 82.

another point. By tracing the map-history of our coast, we may attempt to determine the state of the knowledge of his time, and the limits within which he was bound. Here, then, we leave Horsley for a time, while we try to answer the question—What is the map-history of our coast?*

But here again, at the outset, a preliminary question presents itself. What, *for geographical purposes*, is a map?

Those of you who have gone through such works as the collections of maps made by Santarem, Lelewel, and Jomard, know that the word is not easily defined; nor need I attempt to give you a strict definition. Confining my remarks to our own Islands, it will suit the present enquiry, if I distinguish four groups:—1, Pilgrim maps; 2, Vignettes and skirtings; 3, Mappæ Mundi; and 4, Maps purely geographical, including surveys on land, and also portulanes and sea charts.

1. What I have called *Pilgrim maps*, belong to the early middle ages, unless we include Ogilby's Roads, which he calls a "geographical description explained by one hundred *maps*." Of the earlier ones several will be found in Gough's *British Topography*.† In general they may be described as follows:—

The coast lines—if not supplied by the edges of the paper, or put in with a ruler—are a rough hand draft, with little regard to form, and none to proportion. A road, more or less distinctly indicated, runs down the middle of the island, from north to south. On it each succeeding stage of the journey is marked by the name of a town. Other places, not in the main line of road, are scattered about on the right and left, with some small attempt at relative position or distance. The main road passes through London to Dover, which is placed about the middle of the south coast. I need hardly say that we shall dispense with the use of this group altogether until we wish to find our way to Jerusalem after the old fashion, or to interpret an ill-written name on a contemporary map.‡

* Circumstances have restricted me, in what follows, to the use of books from my own shelves. More extended research would have been an advantage.

† See plates 2, 4, and 7 in vol. i.

‡ In the British Museum there is a copy of *Mat. Paris*, which thus guides the pilgrim stage by stage all the way to Jerusalem.

2. *Vignettes and skirtings* are, firstly, the so-called maps found on title pages, at the heads of chapters, &c.; and secondly, the border regions of genuine early maps, which are intended really to describe only their more central portion.

As a vignette, take British Isles in Munster's *Cosmographia Universalis.** Now this does not at all represent the geographical knowledge of either Munster or his times. It is more a picture than a map. Ten years before, Munster had published a map of England after the type of the very best early map we possess.†

Or take the three figures to illustrate the *Notitia* in the Thesaurus of Grævius,‡ and compare them with the map of the British Isles in the first volume of that great work. Of the Vicarii in the vignette, Maxima Cæsariensis is placed up in Caledonia, Britannia Prima is in Northumberland, and Brit. Secunda has moved from Wales to Middlesex. The second figure is to illustrate the stations on the Saxon shore, but here they are all carried bodily into Scotland, and distributed inland there! Of the third figure, suffice it to take the first station only. We know that the sixth legion was at York, and not on the Caledonian Canal. May we not say that vignettes are to be avoided?

To shew you what I mean by *skirtings*, take Speed's map of the Isle of Man,§ and look at the delineation of our own coast in the margin. Here the Mersey is just half-way between Morecambe and the Dee, while Puffin Island is about the same distance on the other side. In this case I admit that the distortion may be accounted for, but in most others it cannot.

The Wirrall in the margin of Humphrey Lhuyd's map of Cambria, printed in Ortelius and in Mercator, is sadly deformed. In short, although in our day every portion of a map may be taken to be equally correct, it was not so in the olden time, and in this direction much caution is required in using our older maps. Further, as I attach some importance to this matter, let me refer you in addition to the map at the end of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), and to the map of the world, by Laurence Frisius (1522).

* Edition 1550, p. 42. There is a good copy of it in Hume's *Ancient Meols*, plate 1, map 3; and in Historic Society's *Transactions*, vol. xi, p 220, map 3.

† Munster's *Ptolemy*, 1540, map 30. ‡ Vol. vii, pp. 1927, 1937, and 1994.

§ *Theatre of Great Britain* (1610), Book i, chap. 46.

This last is announced as the delineation of the entire world, according to the report of hydrographers, drawn to the minutest particulars! (minutissime depicta.) All Europe is "skirting."

3. *Mappæ Mundi.* It is impossible for me to deal in any but the most superficial way with this very large and most interesting group. In their own way they are charming, but that way is not geographical. Let me hope that you have in some public library, or otherwise within your reach, the *Essay on Mediæval Geography*, published to illustrate the large fac-simile of the Hereford map.* If so, my labour is light; it may almost be confined to the quotation of a single sentence from the volume to which I have referred you, and with which, in this respect, I entirely agree:— "A mediæval *mappa mundi*, to be duly appreciated, must, to a "great extent, be regarded as an *illustrated romance*."† But, it may be asked, does this apply to the map itself, as well as to the classical, legendary, and other matters contained in it? Fortunately, for our present purpose, the reply is easy. The Hereford map is by far the largest of its class.‡ It extends over as many feet as most of the others do inches, so there was no lack of room. Its date is known within a very few years to be A.D. 1300; and there is very fortunately preserved to us another English map of our Islands which is referred to almost precisely the same date. To answer the question, Does this, the largest and perhaps the best of the mappæ mundi, at all represent the geographical knowledge of the time? we have simply to compare the two—or, let me say, contrast them.

*This* is a full-sized fac-simile of the British Isles on the Hereford map [maps produced and described], and *this* is the precious contemporary map preserved in the Bodleian Library; of which more anon. The present reduced fac-simile is a photozincograph issued from the Ordnance Office.§ These mappæ mundi also are of no geographical use. We come now to the last group.

4. Maps purely geographical. These must be separated into

* By Revs. W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott. London: Stanford. 1873, 8vo. See also Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1875. Introduction, p. 124, &c.

† Introduction, p. xxii.

‡ The larger circular Fra Mauro map at Venice is geographical. In it England is little better than "skirting."

§ Published by the Ordnance Office in 1875. Price, with a description, 3s. 6d.

two sub-groups :—*a.* Emphatically *maps*, the result of surveys on land. *b. Charts* or coast surveys, known in mediæval times as *portulanes*. This distinction is important, because, until comparatively recent times, the map makers paid hardly more attention to the true contour of the coast than the cartographers did to the positions of the towns. It must be remembered also that we are dealing with the coast.

First, then, as to *maps*. The first three maps I shall mention are separated by centuries. This is not because the intervals are blank, but because time would fail me to deal with them in detail, and they include no map which affects the object of the present paper.

In the Cottonian Library* there is an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, which I am sorry to say I have not yet seen. It contains an oblong map of the world. You will find copies of it in Strutt's *Chronicle*,† in the *Penny Magazine*, No. 340, and in Knight's *Old England*.‡ Dr. Hume, in his *Ancient Meols*,§ gives us a copy of its British Isles. The date of the manuscript is the tenth century. After much thought and some doubts I am inclined to believe that, so far as I have ascertained, this must take rank as our earliest English map. Unfortunately, however, the scale is so small, and our own coast so indefinite, that no use can be made of it. Our Islands here are not unlike Sanudo's.

The second map is the one in the Bodleian, which you have already seen. The coast line here is faulty; but we obtain this fact from it. The Mersey was then a free and open river, flowing westward past Warrington, and a little south of Prescot to Liverpool, which is placed upon the northern shore at its mouth, facing somewhat west of north.

The Ribble also is here, flowing from near to Skipton by Clitheroe to Preston, and thence to the sea. North of this, notwithstanding the general accuracy of the map itself, we soon feel how little regard was paid to the coast.

Our next map is by George Lilly, our first printed map, about

* Tiberius, B. v. † Vol. ii, plate 13. ‡ Vol. i, fig. 299.
§ Plate i, map 1.

1550, which I have not seen, or at least have not recognised.* Then come the maps which Humphrey Lhuyd, in his letter, promised to send to Ortelius, and which he no doubt did send, for the England and the Wales appear in the *Theatrum*, the England with the date 1573. I suspect that Lhuyd's maps had an influence on those of Mercator;† but this is of little moment so far as this country is concerned, for

In 1577, Saxton's map of Cheshire was issued, our "first "county map."

Saxton's maps were completed in 1579. They supply a new type, and commence a new era. He spent nine years on his survey, and the results though imperfect are important; their influence can be traced for nearly two centuries. The maps that followed during this period need not be discussed. They were gradually influenced by the coast surveys of the time; and by the middle of the 18th century the two became consistent and true.

*b.* Portulanes and coast surveys. The study of portulanes would be both interesting and instructive, but I have not enough for the purpose. Suffice it to say that the earlier ones were made in other countries, and hence our first supply of them comes from abroad.

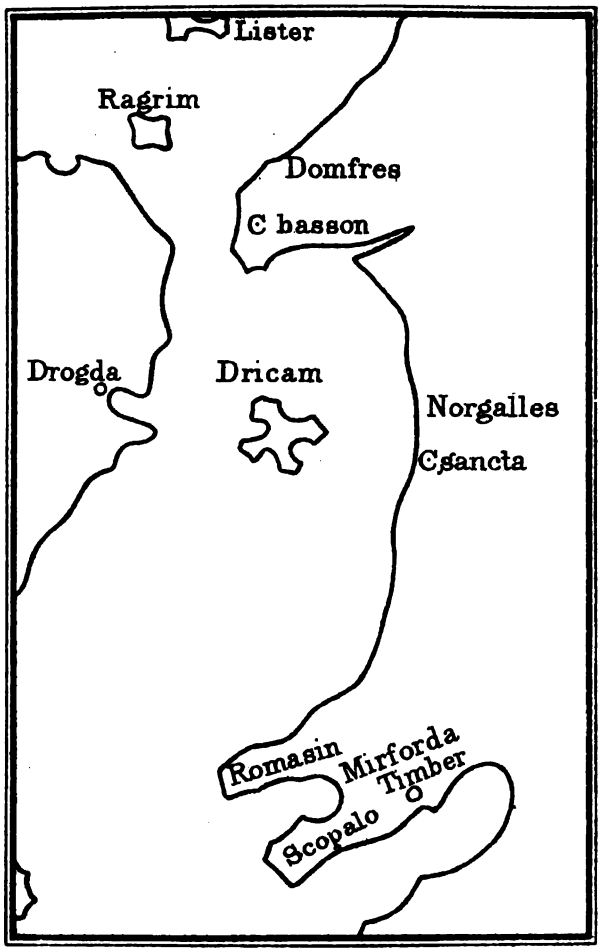
Their value also to us decreases as time goes on—the oldest are, I believe, the best; *they* were independent productions, the results of actual work. In later ones the copyists have attempted to improve upon their pattern, or have carelessly left it. Thus while the early portulanes contain only the principal ports where a landing might be effected, the later ones gradually include the smaller rivers—I might almost say rivulets. They are affected too by the coast lines of contemporary maps. All this is quite what might be expected: the artist desired to include the "latest "information."

Bearing in mind that our maps begin practically about A.D. 1300, the first portulane or coast chart I can refer to is in the Atlas of Petrus Vesconte *1318*. Here our coast is nameless

* Wynkyn de Worde's "Map of England," 1520, was apparently a portulane. Bagford calls it "a chart of the coasting part of England." See Leland's *Collectanea*, Vol. I, p. lxxx.

† Mercator's Great Map of the World was published in 1569. Here his ideas of our coast are very crude; *Lawrpreston* seems to include both Liverpool and Preston.

# "Medii Ævi. Typus 1370-1470."



and unknown. North of the Severn there are but two names, *Casia Bristo* and *Cap' Sto* (Holyhead).

The next, "Des Freres Pizigani," 1367, is but little improved; but we have in it *tibit*, (Tenby) *Milforte*, *Ramusa*, the Island, and *Gales* for Wales. I shall pass these by.

The first portulane which I shall use, the best of this type, is found in the Tabula Catalana A.D. 1375. (Plate V.)

In one form or another this does duty as the modern map of Britain, in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, map 1493; in Pirkheimer, 1525; Servetus, in 1535; and I think in one or two earlier sets of maps. It is also the modern map in Bordone's *Isolario*, 1547. It is the basis of the "corrected" map of Sylvani in 1511, and no doubt appears elsewhere. But please to note that *up to c. 1380* I have *no* evidence of a survey of our own local coast. This Catalana survey did not extend beyond the Severn. The whole coast line from Cape Wrath to St. David's consists of two shallow curves, like an elongated figure 3. The middle point is *Cape Basson*, near "*Domfres*," which from its position should be the Mull of Galloway. The only station on the lower curve,—it does not disturb the line, is *Capo Sancta*, by "*Norgalles*," for Holyhead. At St. David's Head we have *Romasin* (Ramsey Ins.), and *Timber* (Tenby). From the Severn, along the south and east coasts, the names are numerous.

The earliest Lancashire and Cheshire portulane I have to shew you is one printed in the French Calendar for 1458. As I shall have to deal with it in a few minutes, it may be sufficient to say now that we find in it Liverpool and Chester. It does duty until nearly 1600! I have two others on vellum, and a careful fac-simile tracing of a third.

The first (c. 1520) is damaged for our purpose by the fact that the coast at Liverpool is obscured by one of the compass centres, and further, although the names we should wish are there, I have small faith in their positions.

The second (c. 1550) is an ornate affair, resplendent with colour, silver, and gold, all of which I would gladly have spared, had they been exchanged for a coast line more to my mind. This portulane plainly belongs to a much later type, and is not

free from *map* influence; however the names are there, and not badly placed.

The fac-simile tracing is also rather late, but shews evidence of careful work. It is of a different type to the others, and, though it contains no names, the havens we require are distinctly there. The depression of the Dee and the contraction of Cumberland are evident. The S. and E. coasts are improved, and especially Scotland. In general character, and indeed in not a few particulars, it is very like the map published by Henric Petri (Basileæ, 1561) to illustrate Honter's *Cosmography*.

It may be desirable to put the names in the three portulanes before you, so as to compare them with those of the old Bodleian map. The orthography is as correct as I could make it.

| Map c. 1300 | Port. c. 1455.* | Port. c. 1520. | Port. c. 1550. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Doden fl. | ... | ... | ... |
| Fornes. | ... | ... | Fornes. |
| Cartmell. | ... | ... | ... |
| Kent fl. | quiroubit. | ... | ... |
| Lancaster. | ... | ... | Cart. |
| Lon. fl. | ... | ... | ... |
| Preston. | Prstont? | ... | brest. |
| Wigan. | ... | Cartel. | begam. |
| Lyrpoll. | verpoull. | Lonos. | Lyrpol. |
| Chestre. | Chestre. | Luerpol. | Chestre. |

You have here a "workshop" tracing of the four placed side by side.

As to the general contour of the Island, the remarks I shall have to make upon the first portulane may be said to apply very generally to the others. So much for mediæval portulanes, which bring us very nearly to the date of Saxton's maps. In 1693 Collins' *Coasting Pilot* was published; other charts succeeded, the results of improving instrumental means; and thus we arrive at our own wonderful Ordnance publications. Let us now take stock and

* The first name in the Berjeau copy is *quiroubit*, which, from its position, I read Kirkby (Kendal). It is true that Kendal is not on the coast, it is some way up the Ken, but the settlement of a colony of Flemish woollen weavers there in the reign of Edward III (1327-1340) might have led to the introduction of the name. In the French examples, however, the name is *quicombrt* and *quiconbrt* (Kirkcudbright), and it is placed in Scotland. The British Museum copy may be read *quicoubrt*, and the lower position may be due to want of space below *Vuterne* (*nuteine*, Paris copy)—I suppose Whithorn.
The next name in Berjeau is practically illegible. In the other copies we have *plstont*, *piltout*, and what suggests *prstont*, for Preston.
Berjeau has *uerpoull*, the other three *lerpoull* or *lerponll*. (See note on p. 92.)

see what we have gained, and how we are to apply the knowledge. In the first place we have separated the evidence upon which we can rely. In the next place we have obtained two views of our coast—from within and from without; we have distinguished maps from charts. Relying on the former for the course of our river, we find it there from the first, clear and open, its course the same as it is to-day. In the charts too, however much other names may vary, Liverpool is always there: evidence, to some extent at least, of the importance of the haven. Lastly, we have learned that in dealing with the coast, charts are more reliable than maps; as in the interior we should prefer maps to charts.*

Let us now apply this to the map history of our coast, commencing with the portulane of 1458.

But before I introduce this portulane, you must allow me a short digression. Have you noticed that up to this point there has been no mention of Ptolemy? His Geography seems to be unknown. In the early years of our era his work was probably supreme; but the "*dark ages*" have intervened. As we emerge from them, however, he soon comes again to the front. Copies of his Geography were made in the fourteenth century; in 1409 it was translated into Latin, and shortly afterwards copies were multiplied. About 1450 Nicolaus Donis was at work. In 1475 it was printed, and more than twenty editions were published in Europe—all except one with the atlas—before the date of our first engraved English map. No edition has been published in England! Rapid geographical progress was made during this period, but Ptolemy was the basis upon which the new work was done. Such was the authority of his book, that it was only on the best evidence, and bit by bit, that it gave place. The Roman fleet coasted round our Island, and the Roman legions marched through the land; hence Ptolemy's materials included both a portulane and a map.

* In Arthur Hopton's *Topographicall Glasse*, (London, 1611,) there is an amusing illustration of this. There are two maps of England. The first, chap. xxxv, p. 82—"To "reduce many plats, or all your observations into one, and thereby to make a faire map "thereof," &c. In this first map, working from land surveys to the coast, the outline from Bangor to Egremont is simply absurd. In the second, chap. xxxvi, p. 85—"To divide any "empire, kingdom, or continent into provinces, regiments, or shires," we have the inverse process, the coast line being the basis of the work. Here we have, for the time, a really respectable map, including all the chief details of our coast.

Bearing all this in mind, I may now introduce to you the portulane from the French Calendar of 1458. When it was made I cannot tell; in all probability about 1400. A copy is in the British Museum, and a similar one, apparently by the same artist, is in the library at Althorp.* The enlarged fac-simile, which I am about to shew you, was produced by pantograph from the figure of Berjeau.†

In this portulane—the first I have seen which deals with our coast—the influence of Ptolemy appears. I will read you the notes made upon it five years ago, and therefore with no reference to the present enquiry. Let me ask your careful attention to this portulane, for it is at this point that my argument really begins. My notes are as follows :— (Plate VI.)

"The Ptolemaic basis of this map is evident. The distortion "in longitude, although reduced, is still considerable. From "Tuccia fl. os. to Ituna est. there is little change, although Angle-"sea is *indicated.* Cantium prom. is much below London, and "yet Thanet seems to be included. The Wash is as much too "high here as it is too low in Ptolemy. Vedra is characteristic.

"The east coast of Scotland, although it runs N. and S. is "very much contracted. The west coast above Galloway is very "obscure. It forms part of the rude ornamentation of the map. "Galloway itself is much corrected, but Cumberland still suffers "from the extension of Lancashire, &c. Cornwall and St. "David's are improved. There are other names on the map, "but they are altogether illegible or unrecognisable.

"The names, the breaks in the coast line, the introduction of "rocks, banks, sands, &c., distinctly indicate a portulane or coast "survey."

I might have referred also to Norfolk and Suffolk; and the missing Ianganorum Prom.

* *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, Suppl., p. 303. Berjeau, *Le Bibliophile*, No. XIX, July, 1863.

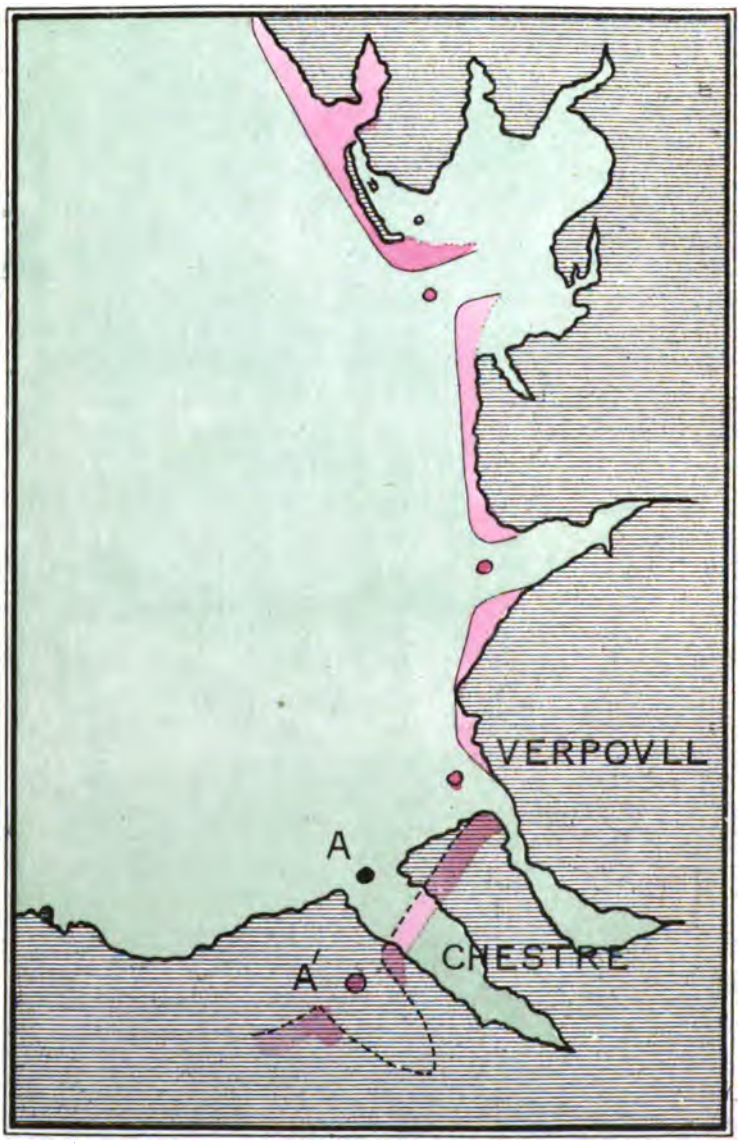
† By the kindness of the Trustees of the British Museum I am enabled to publish a fac-simile of the Xylographic map, of which I had before seen only Mr. Berjeau's copy in the *Bibliophile*, which turns out to be very faulty in the names. It is sufficient to say that the fac-simile now published is the work of Mr. F. C. Price, and that his readings are abundantly confirmed by two independent portulanes after the same original, in the National Library at Paris, which I now have in the Atlas of Santarem. It is important to note that the French copy of this portulane is attributed to the close of the fourteenth century; this is in most satisfactory agreement with what I had written. (Note added Sept. 22, 1879.)

PORTULANE, c A D 1400.

(*Xylographic Map, c. A.D. 1455. British Museum.*)

F. C. Price, lith: 86, Leighton rd London, N.W.

# OLD PORTULANE AND MODERN MAP.



The names Beomar, Chestre, and Lerpoull, and the sands on our coast, are distinct.

Now take this, our earliest portulane, and apply it to the Ordnance coast line.* Plate VII shews how little is required to change the one into the other. Proceeding from N. to S. all goes well until we reach the Wirrall; then the curve becomes much too sharp, and the space between the Mersey and the Dee too small. In order to reproduce the portulane we must remove A to A', or, in plain words, we must introduce Ptolemy's error of the *Seteia*, and remove the Dee "fifteen minutes of a degree" south. What is the effect? Not alone is the interval increased, but the *angular bearing of the Mersey from the Dee is very largely changed.*

The question next arises, Is this difference of avail to classify our maps? If it is, the older and larger angle ought to obtain only until the date of Collins' Chart. Let us see; but first, what are the angles? Taking the numbers in the Bertius Theatrum which we are to use for to-night, the bearing of the *Belisama* from the *Seteia* should be about 51° north of east; while from similarly placed stations on the Ordnance map, the angle is only 29° 20'. The difference is more than 20°, and the direction of the line connecting the stations coincides almost exactly with the N.W. shore of the Wirrall. Hence the character of a map may be determined at sight. (Plate VIII.)

General maps on a small scale, however, must be avoided. In them the Wirrall is of very uncertain length, breadth, and angle. A line drawn from the Point of Ayr to Bootle ought to be coincident *nearly* with the Wirrall shore. This, and the general contour of the coast, will usually decide the character of a map.

George Lilly's map I have not seen. The maps of Ortelius shew the larger angle. In Mercator's Atlas the angle is about 42°. It is here that I suspect he was influenced by Humphrey Lhuyd. It is not easy, and it is hardly safe, to adopt stations in connexion with Lhuyd's Wirrall, but those I did try made the angle 45°.

Saxton's angle is about 66°. This is too large; but it must be

* Too late to correct the error, it was found that the British Museum Xylograph and the French MSS. have *lerpoull*, not *verpoull* as in Berjeau.

remembered that Saxton, bound by his land measures such as they were, reduced the distances, and reduced them in wrong proportions. Or, I may suggest another possible explanation. There is an error in Bertius in the longitude of Belisama. This error is as old as the 14th century, and in such a case, where there are two texts there are two recensions. We do not know the authorities for Saxton's coast; but correct the error I have named, and the angle becomes about 61°.

Speed's angle is 51°. Jod. Hondius, of the Mercator School, engraved for Speed; but who is responsible for the Cheshire, I cannot tell.

I need not trouble you with succeeding maps; almost all of them were derived from these. It is only needful to add that the map by Morden, as late as 1722,* which was used by Horsley, makes the angle 57°.

Collins' chart was published in 1693, it is true, and in it the angular error was corrected. But the change was only gradually adopted. Though it had not affected Morden's map, reissued in 1722, Hermon Moll had adopted it as early as 1700,† and continued it in his large Atlas, 1710. Others, however, were more conservative. The influence of Saxton, Speed, &c., was great in the land; further, copying is much more easy than original work, and costly map plates serve for several editions. After the middle of the 18th century, however, the smaller angle and the truer lines were established; and so they remain. Moll's map of 1700 is the earliest I have yet seen of this class. This is seven years after the chart of Collins.

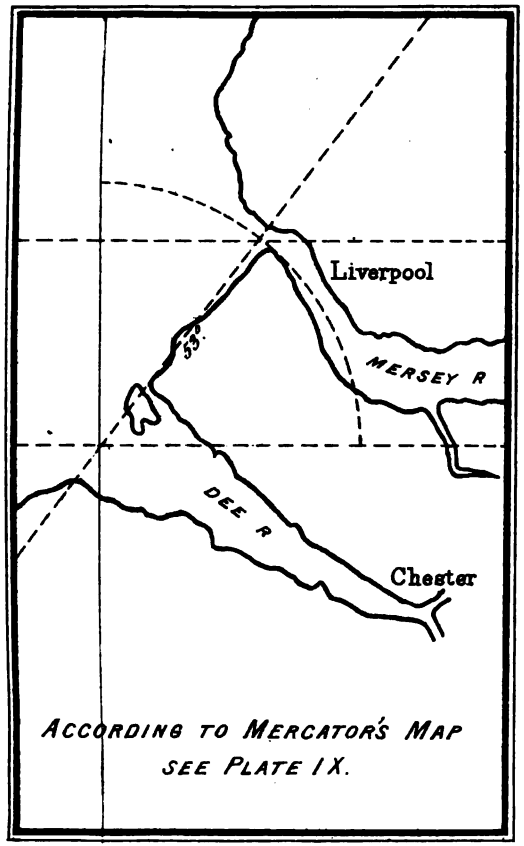
There is one point that I have overlooked. Ptolemy's errors were, that he depressed the Dee and contracted Cumberland. Now nearly six years ago, to see what amount of distortion would pass without remark in an 18th century map, I superimposed by pantograph, the coast in Johnston's Royal Atlas upon that of the map in Gale's Antonine Iters (1709). The old map thus compared shews both the Ptolemaic errors, and the

* Bishop Gibson's second edition of *Camden*; but the map was engraved for the first edition, 1695.

† See Dr. Leigh's *Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, &c.* (Plate VIII, *ante*.)

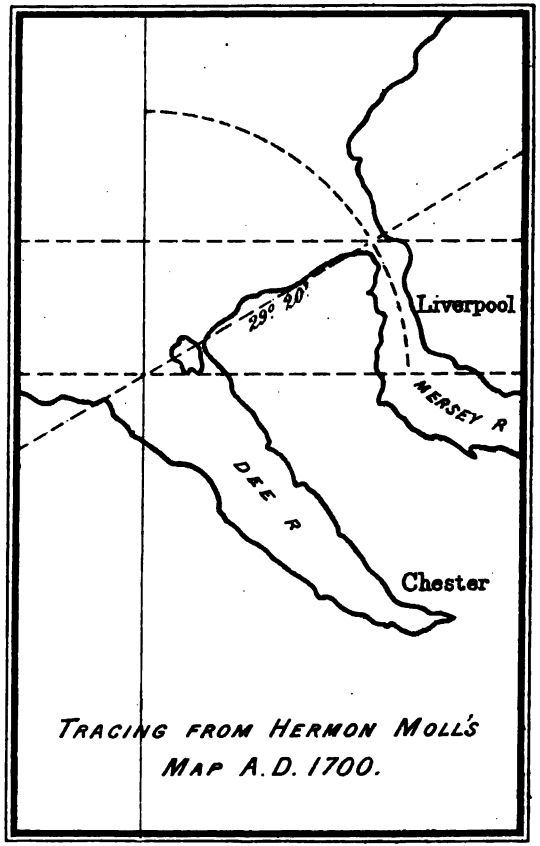
# ANGULAR BEARING OF WIRRALL SHORE.

## PTOLEMAIC ANGLE.




ACCORDING TO MERCATOR'S MAP
SEE PLATE IX.

## TRUE ANGLE.




TRACING FROM HERMON MOLL'S
MAP A.D. 1700.

Wm Lowe (late L Syers)

same, I expect, would be found in others. I did not suspect the relationship at that time.

And now, after this long, and I hope not wearisome or unprofitable, *search*, we are in a position to come back to Horsley, his "*must be*," and the materials he used.

1. He used Mercator's so-called Ptolemy map, first published in 1578.* The same plate was printed from at intervals until at least 1698,† which is the date of the latest edition I have. During this interval some small changes were made in the maps by Hondius, but as yet I have detected none in the Britain, so far as we are concerned.

2. He had Bishop Gibson's *Camden*, 1722, which shews the angle 57°.

3. He prints several maps of Britain in his own work. These are perhaps the most direct evidence we could expect. Two of his maps are on about the same scale as Mercator's. These I shall use.

Lastly, some previous owner of my own copy has inserted an additional map of, I think, about the same date, and on almost the same scale. This is, of course, independent of Horsley. I shall use it as a check upon the others. Let me add that this uniformity of scale is a fact not entirely without significance.

Taking these four maps then, my proceedings were as follows:— (Plate IX.)

1. A careful tracing was taken of the needful portion of each of them, and station points, in as nearly the same positions as was possible, inserted. Lines to represent the meridian and parallel of Dee mouth were added.

2. These tracings were carefully transferred to a sheet of diagram paper, arranged side by side, so that the Dee stations should be on the same horizontal line, and then other lines *parallel to this* were drawn from the Ptolemaic stations through the other maps. The results were as follows:—

* Tabulæ Geographicæ Cl. Ptolemæi ad mentem autoris restitutæ et emendatæ. Col. Agrip. Typis Godfridi Kempensis.

† Cl. Ptol. Tabulæ Geograph., &c. Trajecti ad Rhenum, F. Halmam et Guil. Vande Water. Et Franequeræ Leonardum Strick.

The line from *Belisama* passes *precisely* through the Mersey stations of the other three.

The line from *Setant. port.* is nearly as true in Horsley's maps, but fails, through a palpable error, in the other. Lastly,

The line from *Morecambe* is not quite so exact, for reasons not far to seek; yet it passes into the bay in all of them, and is as decisive as the name.

My last test was to rule diagonal lines through the Dee and Mersey stations in all of them, and measure the angles. The angle on the Mercator map was 53°, while the others varied only between 52° and 55°.

In behalf of Horsley, I claim for this diagram an authority beyond appeal; or rather, I claim that we have now safely reached the following conclusions :—

That until Camden and Dr. Whitaker* interfered, the one with his vacuous etymology and the other with his careless prejudice, there was no doubt whatever about the Belisama.

That the influence of Ptolemy did not leave the maps of our coast until the middle of the 18th century.

That Horsley, in determining the Belisama, was really testing Ptolemy by Ptolemy; and that, therefore, his "must be" *was* "of necessity" and a matter of course.

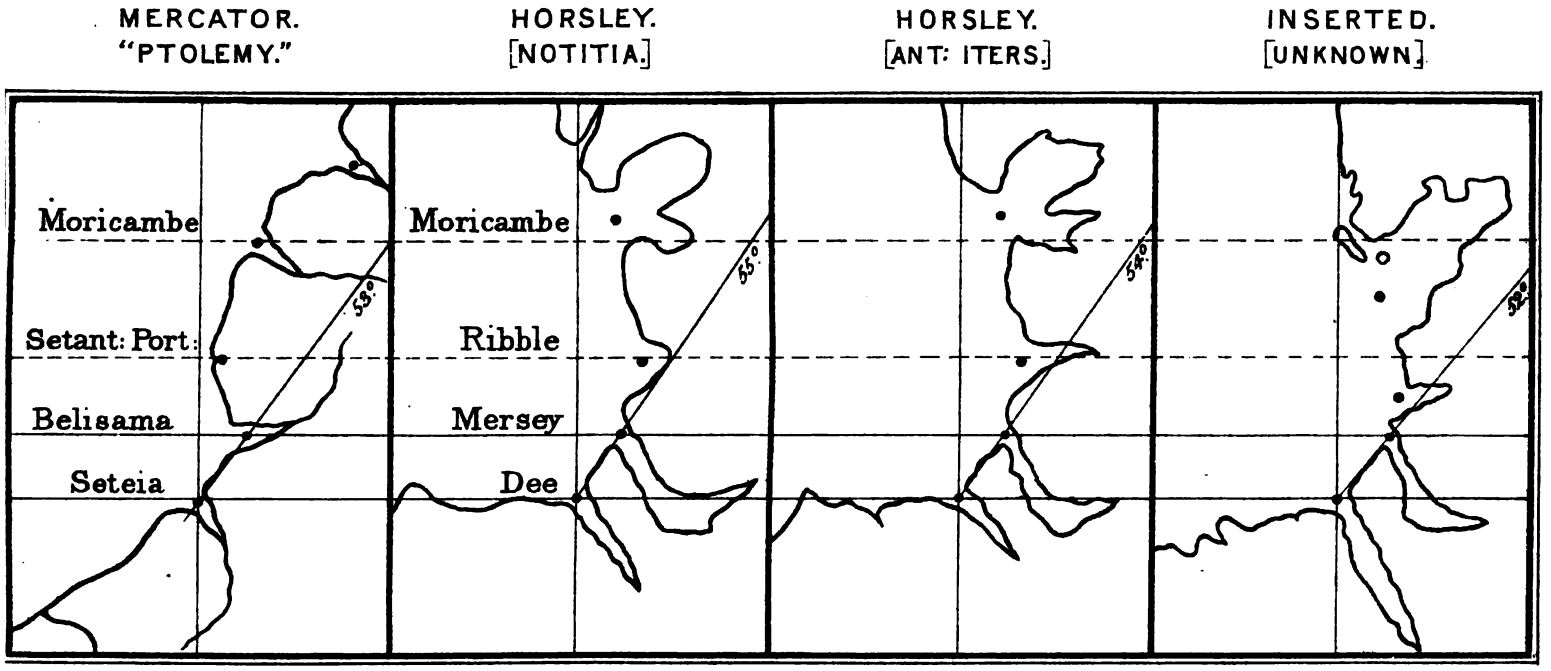
That whether we appeal to geology and physical geography, to the map history of the coast from the earliest times, or to the text of Ptolemy himself,† the testimony is uniform and consistent.

And lastly, that, relying upon the strength of this three-fold cord, we may repeat Horsley's words with confident emphasis :— "The Belisama from its situation *must be* the Mersey."

And now, gentlemen, I have "had my say" about our coast; at least I think so, for I fancy I made the same remark when we last met. However, leaving the future to take care of itself, believe me when I say that, if what I have read to-night gives to you or to others a tithe of the satisfaction the investigation itself has afforded to my own mind, I shall be amply rewarded.

* See Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vol. xxx, pp. 82—84.
† Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vol. xxx, p. 90.

# HORSLEY'S BELISAMA.




THE STATION POINTS IN MERCATOR'S MAP ARE HIS OWN. COMPARE PLATE 2 IN VOL. XXX.

Wm Lowe late L Syers
Lith. Liverpool

# ON SOME MEDIÆVAL POTTERY RECENTLY FOUND IN DERBYSHIRE.

*By Charles T. Gatty, Esq., Hon. Secretary.*

(Read November 28th, 1878.)

THE writer has been for some time engaged in making a catalogue of the pottery and porcelain in the Mayer Collection, and this work has involved a classification of the specimens. The difficulty of effecting such an arrangement in a satisfactory manner, must be experienced to be fully appreciated. Each group has its problems; and concerning some, there seem to be but few satisfactory solutions. The history, fabric, manipulation, age, and locality, all form points of interest for the enquirer to determine; and in the lapse of time which has occurred since the objects came into existence, many of these details have passed out of record and remembrance.

The group of Early English pottery, however, comprising all the English productions subsequent to the Roman and Anglo-Saxon times, and previous to the 18th century, is as difficult a class to deal with as any, and principally for the reason that it offers so few distinctive features. There seems to be a dead level in the art of pottery throughout those five or six centuries. The materials used were of the very simplest kind, and the ornamentation, with a few exceptions, was extremely rude. The chemical ingredients of the various clays do not appear to have been understood, and all the mediæval fabrics are of the simple kind arrived at by peoples who are acquainted only with the

appearances of clays. It was not until the introduction of Eastern porcelain fabrics into this country, in consequence of the Dutch and English connection with India and China, that any attempt was made to work upon the chemical properties of the clays. Josiah Wedgwood dates this revival in the art of pottery from the introduction of tea ; for with the tea came the cups and saucers, the imitation of which quickly followed. Although the mediæval wares are exceedingly rude, the fact remains that they were for centuries the work of the English people, and in common use throughout the country. From this point of view the subject is not without interest. There are examples of this mediæval pottery, scattered about in various museums and private collections in England, which would form a very interesting series if they were well drawn, and published in one work. It would be satisfactory also to try and trace out where they were made, and excavate the sites of some of the pot-works, to discover, if possible, the methods used by the mediæval potters in manipulation and firing.

Such enquiries would assist towards a more careful classification of the wares—something more particular and satisfactory than the vague grouping usually employed, such as "Norman," "Early," "Late," &c. The various works on pottery recently published in England do not offer very much assistance in this matter. They give dates to distinctive pieces, such as figures of knights in armour; but the majority of specimens have no such features, and fall under the general headings of "Norman" and "15th century." In some cases reference is made to mediæval manuscripts, and drawings given of the vessels figured in them; but, of course, there is always the possibility that such vessels may be of another material, and it would be difficult to state for certain which are pottery and which are either metal, leather, wood, glass, or horn. On the Bayeux tapestry both Saxons and Normans are represented as drinking from horns, and eating from bowls of a very different shape to anything the pottery savants usually call Norman. The exact meaning to be attached to the term Norman too, is not very clear. Does it refer to a species of

pottery which can be definitely described as of such and such a fabric, form, colour, and glaze, and known, from parallel pieces found in France, to be of Norman origin? Or does it refer to the sort of pottery which it is ordinarily supposed was made in England during the Norman dynasty? The terms Celtic and Teutonic pottery have a distinct connection with well-known fabrics and forms, but the Norman wares have not been at present clearly distinguished from pottery of a much later date.

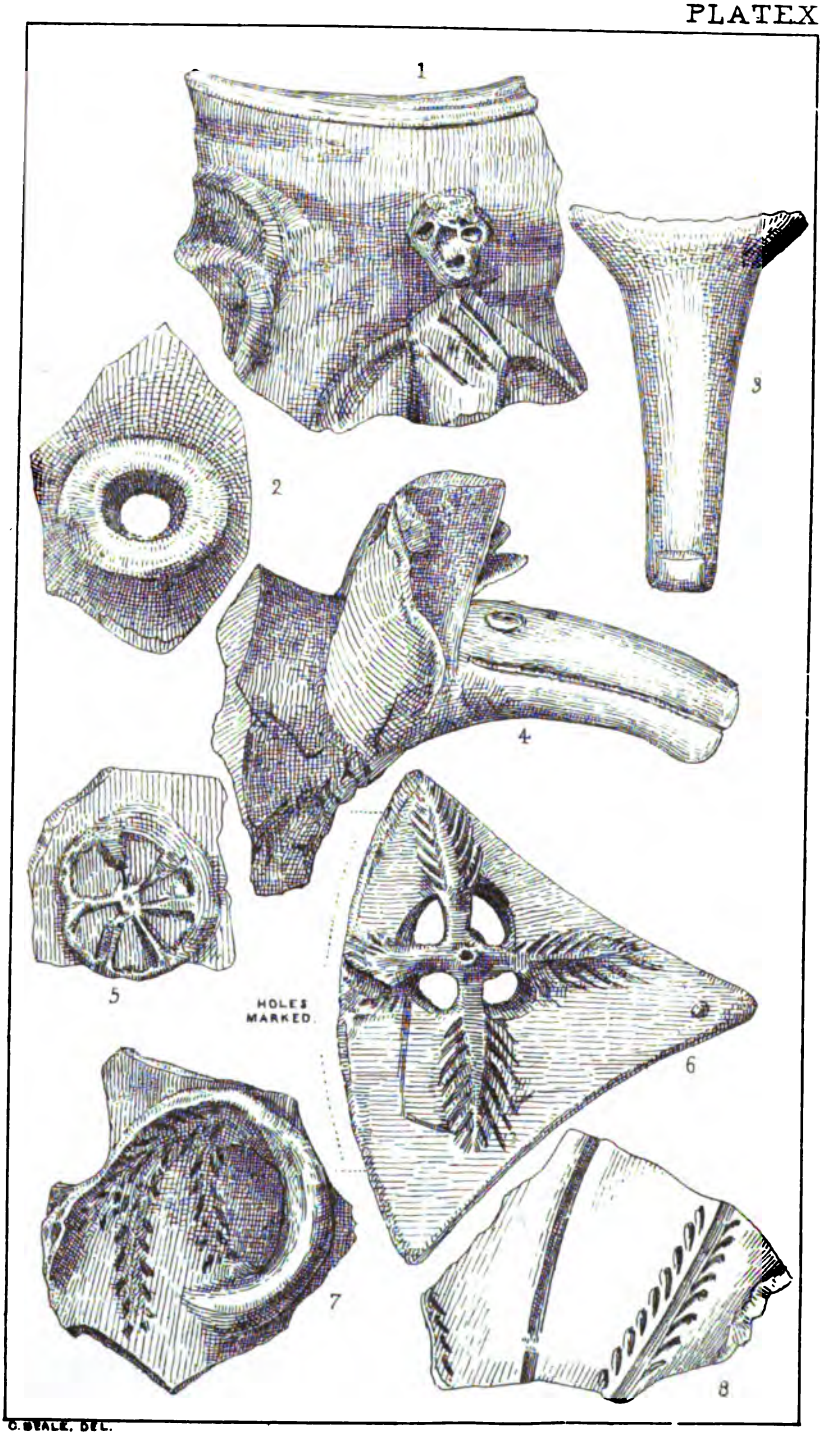
Whilst the writer was debating how to proceed with the classification of the Early English pottery in the Mayer Collection, it occurred to him that, to follow up a particular group of specimens, found upon the site of an old pot-work, and definitely identified as "Norman" pottery, would probably lead to some results and give him some information. Accordingly he selected a well-known group, and secured for himself an agreeable expedition, and a not unfruitful excavation.

In the second volume of Mr. Ll. Jewitt's *Reliquary*, at p. 216, there is an announcement of the discovery of some mediæval pottery in a field belonging to Lord Scarsdale, situated near to the roadside, on the turnpike between Derby and Duffield. The pieces are described, and some of them figured. The most important pitcher is figured on Plate XII. Subsequently the pieces were figured and described in Mr. Jewitt's work, *Ceramic Art of Great Britain*, vol. i, p. 78 *et seq.* Mr. Jewitt described these specimens without apparent hesitation as "Norman" pottery; stated that they were part of the refuse of an adjoining pot-work, and so far interested the writer, that he determined, without delay, to see the specimens, and ascertain if anything more could be rescued from the site of their manufacture. It appeared to him that this was an opportunity of really discovering something definite to go upon. If these pieces were found in tolerably good condition, with a certain kind of glaze and ornamentation, surely there must be many others, if only fragments, which would serve as illustrations of a class, and possibly lead to the identification of many specimens preserved in various collections.

Mr. Jewitt's description of the pieces was clear, but it did not go quite far enough for purposes of comparison; the writer therefore called upon Lord Scarsdale, their owner, who had kindly consented to his making a careful examination of them.

The group consists of a few pitchers of rude make, coated with an olive-green glaze. The most important specimen is a bulky, ugly pitcher, of a pale red body, coated with an olive-green glaze, mottled with brown spots, as if some colouring matter (manganese?) had been sifted over it. The body of the pitcher appeared to the writer to be much heavier and coarser than the ware usually termed "Norman," and, as before remarked, the green was of a duller shade than that usually found on Early English pottery.

Round the outside of the vessel are five horse shoes and two buckles, rudely moulded in relief, and apparently in a light-coloured clay. When the writer first saw the jug he felt uncertain if these insignia had been poured on, like the slip decoration, or applied whilst the clay was in a stiffer condition, or worked up with a tool from the body of the jug itself; he still feels it a little difficult to determine the point, but a friend, a practical potter, judging from some of the fragments the writer brought from Burley Hill, inclines to the last view, viz., that the ornamentation was worked up from the surface of the body. These heraldic insignia gave great interest to this jug. The horse shoe was a badge of the Ferrers family, who once owned the surrounding property; and Mr. Jewitt, in describing the jug as Norman, seems to confirm his opinion by the fact that the Ferrers family were the Norman Earls of Derby. The question then arises, Did the Ferrers family use the badge in Norman times, and was it accompanied by a buckle? Mr. Planché states that he can find no authority for the appearance of the horse shoe in their coat until the 13th century. Mr. Philip Evelyn Shirley tells the writer that he never heard of the buckle as a Ferrers' badge, and he is of opinion that badges were not used at all till the end of the 14th, and principally in the 15th and 16th centuries. Several of the authorities at the




POTTERY FROM BURLEY HILL.

Heralds' College were unanimous in considering that these insignia were much more likely to be a tavern sign than any heraldic badge. It does not appear therefore certain that these horse shoes connect the jug with the Norman times of the Ferrers family. Connected with this point it may be interesting to know that three horse shoes were borne by the Augustinian Priory at Darley, not far from the site of the pottery; also, that three round buckles were granted to a family named Jodrell of Duffield, about one mile distant. At Calke Abbey, the seat of Sir John Crewe, situated a few miles on the other side of Derby, there is a Bellarmine jug, of rude English mottled stoneware, with three horse shoes impressed under the head, and one on either side. The family do not know how this Bellarmine comes to be there, but it is considered by them to be most probable that it came from Hemington, where they had a house, in which village (the writer has since ascertained) there was an ancient tavern with the sign of "The Three Horse Shoes."

The next point of interest was to visit the field where the jugs were found. It is some distance from Kedleston Hall, and the property has recently passed from Lord Scarsdale's hands into the estate of Mr. John Evans, M.P., of Allestree Hall, Derby, adjoining whose park the field lies. The writer therefore called upon Mr. Evans, who kindly took him to the field, and gave every information in his power. The jugs were found in making a drain down the middle of the field, and it was believed at some depth. The writer walked over the grass with the hope of seeing some prominence or outline to encourage the hope that there might still be the remains of a kiln. On the side adjoining the park the field was uninterestingly flat, but on the side remote from the park the ground rose in several places into artificial-looking mounds, not of any great height, but sufficient to excite the curiosity as to what might be within them. One of these mounds in particular struck the writer as being artificial, and on mentioning to Mr. Evans the possibility of this being a refuse heap, as Mr. Jewitt had considered the field the site of an old pot-work, and expressing a desire to test its contents, Mr. Evans

kindly said that if the tenant, Mr. George Tomlinson, of Allestree, had no objection, the writer was at liberty to excavate.

Having obtained Mr. Tomlinson's consent, the writer, accompanied by his brother, the Rev. Reginald A. Gatty, arrived on the 1st of October at the scene of action with a spade and pickaxe. The spade was applied to the very top of the mound beforenamed, and a square sod removed, exposing a dark-coloured soil, in which lay seven or eight potsherds. This confirmed the view that this was a refuse heap, and a systematic excavation was commenced at one side, cutting a passage of about four or five feet wide, straight from the outside to the centre. Even at the outside extremity the soil was well mingled with pottery, but as the passage went towards the centre the potsherds lay as thick as it was possible to cram them down. Tops, bottoms, handles, and sides of bowls and pitchers of all sizes, and these mingled with a quantity of charcoal, and some fragments apparently of coal, and a great quantity of a fired brick-like substance in rough lumps, which had probably formed part of some rude kiln sides. But there was no trace of any constructed kiln; and it is possible that this was a rough clay covering to small, single clay kilns, which might have been built up at any point over the clay field. No coins or implements, unfortunately, were to be seen to give a clue to the date; but Mr. Evans had an impression that a coin of Edward III was found in the field at the time when Lord Scarsdale's pitchers were discovered.

The specimens which are on exhibition here this evening will give you a better idea of the sort of pottery found at Burley Hill than any further description. Out of the large quantity which the excavators brought away these are a selected number of specimens. There is but little beauty about them, as you will perceive; and I think some of the natives around Burley Hill were at a loss to discover why so much trouble was taken to obtain nothing but a few old pot "wastrels."

The two plates (X and XI), which accompany this paper, offer the reader a very correct notion of some of the most curious specimens found at Burley Hill. No. 1 on Plate X is of a light

PLATE XI

POTTERY FROM BURLEY HILL.

red clay, the outside surface having been washed with a light-coloured clay slip under the glaze; the rude caricature upon it is evidently meant for a skeleton, the ribs being indicated by three rough lines. No. 2 is of the same fabric, and evidently the fragment of the lower part of a vessel, which has had a tap or bung. No. 3 is a handle in the same clay as the two last, and most probably from a low circular porringer like No. 1 Plate XI. No. 4 is a curious caricature of a stag's head. It is not easy to say what part of a vessel it has been; the horns are broken off short, the ears are tucked up close under the horns. The whole piece has been glazed, but it has been so much over-fired, that the glaze has a metallic brown appearance. No. 6 on the same plate is a tile of very unusual make. The body is light red, and the front is coated with a green glaze. The cross branches in the centre have an aperture behind them. On one side are two holes pierced horizontally, as if the tile was made for insertion into some ornamental work where it had to be supported from the side. No. 7 is an example of the ornamentation caused by the use of a stick, or some simple implement, upon the clay whilst in a moist state. No. 8 has also a punctured ornamentation; the body is grey, and the raised ridges seem to be smeared on to the body, and made of finer clay; but a friend of the writer's, a practical potter as before mentioned, considered this to have been worked up with an instrument from the body. No. 1 on Plate XI is of a light red body, it has been glazed apparently only on the bottom of the inside. No. 2 is covered with a simple impressed pattern, and coated with green glaze; it has been over-fired. No. 3, another over-fired piece, gives the shape of the rude pitchers made at Burley Hill; it is glazed all over the outside. No. 4 is a handle, the raised ornamentation having evidently been applied whilst the clay was in a partially soft state. No. 5 is an excellent example of the glaze well-preserved, and of a fine colour: it is olive-green, dotted with small brown specks. No. 6 is a flanged roofing tile.

It will be seen that there is nothing of any great beauty or value in the find. The remaining specimens are only after the

same style as these selected few. It is to be hoped that at some future time the heap may be more effectually ransacked, and that something may be found which will determine the date, and lead to a satisfactory elucidation of the many points of interest which are suggested by a study of "Mediæval Pottery."

# PROCEEDINGS,

## THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1878-79.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

*Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, October 18th, 1878,*

REV. CANON HUME, D.C.L., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

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The completed volume for Session XXX, [Vol. VI, Third Series,] was laid upon the table.

In the absence of the Honorary Secretary, the Chairman read the following

## REPORT.

THE Society this evening completes its thirtieth Session; and the thirtieth volume of its Transactions and Proceedings lies upon the table. This fact is of itself very significant; for it shews that the promise with which the fathers of the Society set out, in 1848, has been honourably and punctually fulfilled, and the retiring Council do not fear a comparison of their thirty volumes with a similar number, the production of any other provincial Society in the United Kingdom. The character of their volumes may be seen from the enumeration of Titles and Illustrations given in Canon Hume's General Index; but it extends over only the first two series, or twenty-four volumes in all.

The past Session has been one of great interest, though without excitement; the meetings were well attended, and the papers were such as to sustain more than the average amount of interest. There was an unusually large number of objects exhibited, bearing on local archæology, or on ethnology and other kindred subjects,

The number of papers read, including one or two minor communications, was fourteen ; and there are eleven printed, either in the Transactions or Proceedings, including one that had lain over from the previous Session. It is not necessary to give an analysis of their contents ; but it may be worth remarking, that they are illustrated by nine plates. Some of these, however, illustrate the miscellaneous objects which were laid before the Society. The volume extends to 208 pages.

On no previous occasion, for at least ten years, has the property of the Society been in such a satisfactory condition. The Library—now a large and valuable one, though little used—has been put in perfect order, and it is available for the use of members ; while the stock, or copies of volumes unsold, is so large as to cause an embarrassment of riches.

The Society's small collection of museum objects, still at the Town Museum, William Brown Street, is in good order, though it has not increased much of late. The miscellaneous property has all been identified and recovered, and is accounted for by the officers in charge of it respectively.

The financial condition of the Society is more satisfactory than it has been for some time past. Though the members are not so numerous as they were in former years, the resources have been used economically ; and thus every demand has been promptly met ; and there will be a balance in favour of the Society, after the distribution of the volume to the members and others.

The retiring Council have been reminded of late of the age of the Society ; for Canon Hume, who has signified his intention of retiring from all active participation in its labours, was one of its founders, and has never been out of office. He served for sixteen years as Honorary Secretary ; for six as President ; and eight nominally as Vice-President, but performing duties of all kinds as necessity arose. He has, however, consented to remain on the Council for the forthcoming Session ; and the increase of younger men, of great ability and promise, affords ground of hope that the future will be distinguished like the past.

Another of the three founders of the Society is its warm friend Mr. Mayer, whose liberality and earnestness in the promotion of its interests are well known ; but who cannot attend its meetings as usual, owing to distance and the condition of his health. But the Council believe that the Society will do itself honour, and shew a grateful appreciation of Mr. Mayer's numerous acts of kindness, by requesting him to accept the position of Honorary Life Membership.

The Balance Sheet will be submitted by the Treasurer.

The balloting lists have been made out in accordance with the Laws, and are now in your hands.

It was moved by F. J. BAILEY, Esq., seconded by E. W. M. HANCE, Esq., and resolved:—

That the Report now read be printed, and circulated with the Proceedings.

The Treasurer's audited Balance Sheet was then read, but was regarded as provisional only, more payments and accounts being still expected.

It was moved by E. W. M. HANCE, Esq., seconded by J. H. GIBSON, Esq., and resolved:—

That the Balance Sheet be passed provisionally; and that in its complete form it be printed and circulated with the Proceedings.*

A Ballot was then taken for the election of Council and Officers.†

It was then formally moved, seconded, and unanimously resolved:—

That Joseph Mayer, Esq., one of the founders of the Society and frequently its benefactor, be elected an Honorary Life Member of the Society.

On the motion of F. J. BAILEY, Esq., seconded by J. G. JACOB, Esq., a special vote of thanks was passed to Canon Hume, for his long and valuable services to the Society.

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*November 14th*, 1878.

THOMAS GIBSON, Esq., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Canon Hume.

1. Three "mantles" or "mats," as they are called, from New Zealand, all of them made by a very tedious process, it being not unusual for the manufacture of one of them to last longer than a year. The oldest "mat" was one with tassels of cord suspended from it, the material being the *phormium tenax* or New Zealand flax. This one dates from before the introduction of wool into the country. The next in interest was black with white weft; but the richest and most beautiful was a silky white one with a splendid woollen border. In all three it was noticed that one of the four sides was not ornamented, this being the side which goes round the neck of the wearer.
2. A chieftain's belt, of New Zealand flax, curiously worked.
3. An image called "Whuckapackack," with the tribal mark or tapu on it.
4. A double human figure, used as the figure-head of a prahu war canoe. One man sits on the head of the other; and both have the tongue protruded, in one case touching the breast.

* *See* page 118. † *See* page viii.

By Charles Potter, Esq.

1. An ancient finger ring.
2. A buckle, silver enamelled, and one of bronze.
3. A fish hook of bronze.

All the above objects were found on the Cheshire shore.

4. Nine Liverpool tiles (Sadler's printing) representing various actors, viz. :—Mr. Wroughton, in the character of "Barnwell;" Mr. Mattocks, in the character of "Princess Catherine;" Garrick as "Sir John Brute," and also as "Abel Drugger;" Mr. Shuter, as "Lovegold." The other three tiles represent respectively the "Hay "Makers," the "Fortune Tellers," and a Ship. The whole are in excellent drawing, and in Sadler's best style of printing or transfer.

By Charles T. Gatty, Esq.

1. Several pieces of pottery, including a "slip ware" dish, with a rude design representing a cock, the initials "W. W., and the date 1749.
2. A small stoneware jar, inscribed "Mary Moreland," Nov. the 5th, 1753.
3. Some specimens of Wedgwood ware recently given to the Museum by Mr. Mayer.
3. Two necklaces of blue and white jasper-ware beads.

The following paper was read :—

AN OLD LIVERPOOL SERMON, DEDICATED TO BRYAN BLUNDELL, THE FOUNDER OF THE BLUE COAT HOSPITAL,* published in 1712. *By J. Harris Gibson, Esq., Honorary Curator.*

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*November 28th*, 1878.

F. J. BAILEY, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited : —

By the Rev. Canon Hume.

1. A large stone from Ystalyfern Ironworks, near Swansea, which had been long almost in a state of fusion, and on being suddenly cooled through the fire having been blown out, it split into polygonal crystals like the stones of the Giant's Causeway.
2. A specimen from Whitby in Yorkshire, shewing the natural form of the Ammonite and the polished form. The two joined together are sometimes called the "Miller's Thumb."

* *Transactions*, p. 67.

By W. T. Watkin, Esq.

1. A sketch of a Roman tile found at Quern-moore, near Lancaster; the inscription on it naming the "Ala Sebusiana" by which Lancaster was garrisoned. It is the only one now known to be in existence, though a large number were found.
2. A photograph of a Roman cameo (actual size), recently found in the Roman castrum at South Shields. It represents a bear, which is quite perfect.

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A Liverpool bowl (Sadler's transfer); it has a ship represented on the inside, with the inscription—"Success to the Fanny."
2. A Liverpool jug, with mariner's compass in transfer, and the following inscription—"Come, box the compass. Invented by Murphy, a Dutchman, A.D. 1229; first exhibited at Venice, 1260; improved by Giori of Naples, 1302; its declination discovered by Hartman, 1538."

The following paper was read:—

ON SOME MEDIÆVAL POTTERY RECENTLY FOUND IN DERBYSHIRE.* *By Charles T. Gatty, Esq., Honorary Secretary.*

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*December 12th*, 1878.

F. J. BAILEY, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A spode plate, shewing the Arms of Liverpool.
2. A number of Thalers of the Princes of Transylvania or "Siebenbürgen," from John to Zapolya Michael Appafi.

The following paper was read:—

ON THE SHORTHAND OF THE ANCIENTS. *By W. E. A. Axon, Esq.*

---

*January 9th*, 1879.

The Rev. CANON HUME, D.C.L., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A printed trial of the witches, Rose Cullenden and Amy Duny, widows, both of Leystoff in the county of Suffolk, at the assizes held for the county at Bury St. Edmunds, 10th March, 1664, before Matthew Hale, Knight, Lord Chief Baron.

* *Transactions*, p. 97.

2. Three fragments of an old map, temp. William III, shewing portions of the Wirrall coast, Cheshire, and North Flint.
3. A collection of Polish medals and coins, 2 vols., the second volume containing 145 copper-plate engravings of fine work.
4. A line engraving of the Library in the University of Leyden, dated 1610, and no doubt published after the death of Josephus Scaliger, the famous Professor at the University.
5. A love token, heart-shaped, and forming a box or reliquary, still enclosing hair. The token is of silver, and shews on either side a Cupid with bow and arrow, and surrounding inscription—the form of which and the spelling would approximate the date to about the year 1650—"Noe Heart more Trve Then mine To Yov."

By David Radcliffe, Esq.

A burial certificate, certifying that one "Jane Rigge, late of the "Out-yeate, in the Parish of Hawkshead, county Lancaster, was "buried in Woollen." Dated 31st of January, 1694; attested and signed by Myles Sandys.

The following papers were read:—

1. ON SOME ROMAN REMAINS LATELY FOUND AT YORK. *By B. L. Benas, Esq.*

2. SOME REMARKS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ANTHROPOLOGY, SUGGESTED BY PROFESSOR WARD'S PHOTOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN INDIANS. *By the Rev. Canon Hume, D.C.L.*

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*January 23rd*, 1879.

B. L. BENAS, Esq., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited: –

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A Tetradrachm of Athens, of a very early period, probably the sixth century B.C.
2. A copy of Rules and Articles of the Members of the Friendly Society of Journeymen Pilots, Liverpool. Printed by Merritt and Wright, 1801.
3. A Sermon preached at the Old Church, Liverpool, by the Rev. John Stanley, M.A., Rector of Bury and Halsall in Lancashire, and printed by John Sadler, Harrington Street, Liverpool, 1750.

By the Rev. Canon Hume.

Various interesting castings of stone implements, including a stone sword, an unpolished dagger of flint, a stone cannon ball, and a large stone pickaxe.

The following paper was read :—

THE MAP HISTORY OF THE COAST FROM THE DEE TO THE DUDDON; A SEARCH AFTER THE BELISAMA OF HORSLEY.* *By T. Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., F.G.S., &c.*

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*February 6th*, 1879.

The Rev. R. R. MOORE, M.A., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Charles Potter, Esq.

1. Three specimens of the "Berix Radians" from the chalk of Sussex. These are supposed to be the most perfect specimens of this interesting fish that have hitherto been discovered.
2. Two spindles from the Cheshire shore. Although spindle-whorls have been found in considerable numbers in that locality, these are the first spindles which have been procured.

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A large silver medal, on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, 1632.
2. A Sestertius, or first brass of the Roman Emperor Vitellius.
3. Six large Wedgwood cameos, one signed Wedgwood and Bentley.
4. A godfather's presentation spoon in silver, and of large size. This fine specimen shews the Exeter Assay Office marks for the year 1705 (the fourth of Queen Anne), viz. :—A lion's head erased, Britannia, Castle (the mark for Exeter). Date mark (the letter E for 1705), and the maker's initials A.D.

The following paper was read :—

ON ROMAN MANCHESTER.† *By W. T. Watkin, Esq.*

---

*February 20th*, 1879.

The Rev. CANON HUME, D.C.L., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. An old wooden panel, blazoned *az.* a seated figure *or*, with orb, sword and radiated nimbus, impaling TREVOR; per bend sinister *ermine* and *ermines*, a lion rampant *or*.

* *Transactions*, p. 83. † *Ibid*, p. 13.

2. A Thaler of Philip de Montmorency, Count of Horn, in connection with which Mr. Gibson read the following notice:—

The coin is without date, and is thus described—*Obv.:* PHS ✱ BAR° ✱ D✱ MONTM° ✱ C° ✱ AB—HORN ✱ D°✱ D✱ WIERT. (Philippus Baron de Montmorency, ab Horn Dominus de Wierten). Two Shields of Arms, helmets and crests; the right for Montmorency, the left for Horn; the former surrounded with the collar of the Order of the Toison d'Or or Golden Fleece. *Rev.:* SANCTVS ✱ MARTIN ✱ PATRONVS ✱ WIERTEN. St. Martin on horseback, with circular nimbus; cloak and sword; under the horse a beggar seated; and under the beggar, within the legend, a small shield charged with a chevron. Arms of Montmorency: *Or*, a cross *gules*, sixteen alerions or eaglets displayed *azure*. Crest—Helm, crown, and Talbot's head, couped and gorged. Arms of Horn: *Or*, three hunting horns *gules*. Crest—Helm and cap or bonnet *ermine*, resting on a panache of two heights or rows of peacocks' feathers. Montmorency is one of the oldest houses in France; John, of the name, having left the service of Louis XI, entered that of Charles the Hardi, Duke of Burgundy. On this account he was disinherited by his father. He, however, afterwards became chief of the branch of the Montmorencys in the Low Countries. Anne of Egmont, widow of Joseph, grandson of the above, married John Count of Horn. There being no issue by this second marriage, the children by her first husband, Joseph of Montmorency, succeeded, in right of their grandmother Marie, who was of the house of Horn. The eldest of these was Philipp, whose name, title, and arms appear on the coin. This nobleman, who was a statesman and admiral in the Low Countries, and Chevalier de la Toison d'Or, married Walbourg, daughter of William Count of Nuenar and Anne Countess of Wiede. He was beheaded at Brussels, June 5, 1568.*

By B. L. Benas, Esq.

A number of golden trinkets from Zululand, made by the natives. They comprised bracelets, nose rings, earrings, stomachers, and necklaces. These latter are furnished with a small red coral to keep off the evil eye. They are of very pure gold, and of considerable intrinsic value.

By Charles Potter, Esq.

A large fossil specimen of *Teredo Navalis* or ship worm, from the chalk of Sussex. It was explained that the specimen consisted only of the calcareous incrustation with which the creatures lined the holes they had made in wood; nothing remained of the shells, and only a small portion of carbonized wood, to shew that the latter had existed. This specimen, Mr. Potter stated, was but a fragment from a mass which proved that timber of considerable size had existed to furnish the materials for these borings.

The following paper was read:—

ON THE ARMS WHICH EXISTED IN LYMM CHURCH, CO. CHESTER, IN 1592.† *By J. Paul Rylands, Esq., F.S.A.*

* See Van Loon, *Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas*, vol. i, p. 22.

† *Transactions*, p. 1.

The following notes upon the observance of Lent were communicated by a Member :—

### Lenten Notes of the Olden Time.

Ash Wednesday used to be kept, not many years ago, in some parts of south-western England, by dragging about the streets an effigy made of straw and old clothes, to represent Judas Iscariot. After it had been misused sufficiently, it was either set on fire, or shot to pieces, or thrown down a chimney. A similar custom is now observed on Good Friday in southern Europe, and in Catholic Spanish America.

In western England, daffodils are still called "Lenten lilies," just as in the same region the chrysanthemum is called the "Michaelmas daisy," the black hellebore the "Christmas rose," and the anemone the "Paschal flower."

The legal enforcement of Lenten fasting long outlived the supremacy of the Roman Church in Great Britain. So late as 1661, licenses to eat flesh on fish days were granted by the rectors of parishes in England. One of such licenses appeared in a Liverpool or Manchester paper lately.

In Durham, all the Sundays in Lent, except the first, are known by the following names :—

Tid. Mid. Miserere. Carlin. Palm. Pask-egg Day.

The first three names were taken from the opening words of the appropriate Latin psalms of the days in question. Te Deum, Mihi Deus, and Miserere, Palm Sunday and Paschal Sunday tell their own story. Carlin Sunday gets its name from "Carlins," a kind of gray pease, fried in butter and highly flavoured.

Under the Commonwealth, the Roundheads raged furiously against Lent and its observances. There were published sundry so-called "Lenten Litanies," for the most part mere rubbish, of which the following may be taken as fair specimens :—

From a vinegar priest on a crabtree stock,
From a foddering of prayer four hours by the clock,
From a holy sister in a pitiful smock,
*Libera Nos Dominé.*

From the nick and froth of a penny pot-house,
From the fiddle, the cross, and a great Scotch louse,
From committees that chop up a man like a mouse,
*Libera Nos Dominé.*

From meddling with things that are out of our reaches,
From a fighting priest, and a soldier that preaches,
From an ignoramus that writes, and a woman that teaches,
*Libera Nos Dominé.*

When the old saints' day this year is at an end, sackcloth and ashes rather than wedding garments, fasting and penance rather than marriage and merry making will be in order; but should the impatience of the lovers urge them to declare themselves at the earliest opportunity, they will hasten to their purpose on "All Fools' Day."

*March 6th*, 1879.

The Rev. R. R. MOORE, M.A., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By W. T. Watkin, Esq.

A photograph of a Roman tombstone, found at Murrell Hill, Carlisle, the site of a Roman cemetery. It represents a lady seated, with a child standing on her left. On her knee she bears a pigeon, and in her right hand holds a fan, very similar to those now in fashion. That she was a Mithraist seems certain from the fact of the upper part of the stone being flanked by figures of lions, having a human head held in their grasp.

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. The half of a William I Penny, attributed to William Rufus.
2. A Penny of Henry II, first mintage, struck at Ipswich.
3. A double or folded half of a Penny of Henry II, last mintage.
4. A Penny of Henry III, minted at Canterbury.
5. A London Penny of Edward I.
6. A well-preserved Penny of Ed. III, from the St. Edmondsbury mint.
7. A Dublin halfpenny, Edward I.

   All from the Meols Beach, Cheshire, and in the collection of Mr. Chas. Potter.

8. An inedited 17th century token, ¼d., issued by Ralph Hall of Liverpool, 1661.
9. A Chester Halfpenny, issued by James Knowsley, 1667.
10. A Liverpool, or "the Ship Halfpenny," found in November, 1878, in Colquitt Street. This piece was issued by Thomas Clarke, grocery warehouse, 66 and 67, Cable Street, 1791.
11. A silver medal given to one of the 738 freemen, who voted for Thos. Leyland, Esq., at the Liverpool Election, 1816.
12. A passenger's ticket (copper), used on the Tranmere Ferry steamer "Etna," 1817.
13. A passenger's ticket (copper), used as a check on payment of the fare, for the voyage from Liverpool to Hoylake, by the steam-packet "Cambria," in the best cabin, 1821. Found at Hoylake, and in the possession of Mr. Chas. Potter.
14. A brass token, farthing size, used at the rendezvous for East India recruits, No. 1, Audley Street, London Road, Liverpool, about the year 1823.
15. The Book Plate of Mr. Charles Eyes, the publisher of the Map of Liverpool, 1785.
16. Three miniature portraits, by Mrs. Lightfoot of Liverpool, and painted about 1780.
17. A pierced card or drawing of the Liverpool Town Hall, shewing the edifice as it was illuminated September, 1806, in honour of the visit of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence.

The following paper was read :—

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN, RELATING TO LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.* *By J. Harris Gibson, Esq., Honorary Curator.*

---

*March 20th*, 1879.

J. G. JACOB, Esq., Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By J. Harris Gibson, Esq.

1. A large silver medal, Liverpool Botanic Gardens, shewing bust of Charles Linnæus.
2. A sterling of John II, Count of Hainault (13th century), found on the Meols Beach.
3. A rare Irish token, issued by Thomas Fisher (circa 1690).
4. A Liverpool Poll Book—Canning, Gascoyne, and the Earl of Sefton's Election, 1818.

By Charles T. Gatty, Esq.

An Ancient Deed, referring to Delinquents and Recusants in Cheshire during the reign of Charles II; the following reading of which was kindly given by Alfred Scott Gatty, Esq. :—

CHARLES the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland FFrance and Ireland defender of the ffaith &c. To the Receivo' gen'all of our Revenues comeing of the estates of Delinquent and popish Recusants in our County of Chester, greeting—Whereas you stand charged in yo' Accompts wth the yearely rent of cxli for the ffarme of the demeasne lands late of John Moore decd Delinquent wth the appurtences scituate lying and being in Chelwell with divers old Rents there in o' County aforesaid now or late in the tenure or occupation of John Lawrenson or his Assignes soe to him lett from yeare to yeare under the yearely rent aforesaid which for the halfe yeare ended the 25th day of March 1660 is lvli As by a Constat thereof under the hand of Wm Chislett Deputy Audito' of the Revenues of the said County remayning in the custody of this Remembranc' appeareth. Neverthelesse for certaine causes the Barons of our Excheqr now moveing Wee comand you that you forbeare to make any demand or demands for the said Rent or to take any distresse or distresses for the same charged to be ene as abovesaid. And if you have levyed the same or any other Arrears of the said Rent wch are remayning in yo' hands and not yet answered unto Us That you by force of these presents restore the same unto John Moore gent or his Assignes And Wee will see yt you shalbe thereof discharged upon yo' Accompt as is just. Witnesse Sir Orlando Bridgman Knt and Baronett at Westm' the xith day of July in the xijth yeare of our reigne. Bye Rolle of Remembrances of the

* *Transactions*, p. 67.

same yeare Trinity Record the . . . . Rolle [in a certaine proces there touching John Moore gent who hath pleaded in discharge of the p'misses abovemenconed] And by the Barons. OSBORNE.

By J. G. Jacob, Esq.

1. A rare and valuable Aureus of Tiberius and Agrippina.
2. A unit or Broad, value twenty shillings, of Charles I.

The following paper was read —

A CENTURY OF RECUSANCY, ILLUSTRATED FROM THE RECORDS OF THE BLUNDELLS OF CROSBY, Part I.* *By the Rev. T. E. Gibson.*

---

*April 3rd*, 1879.

The Rev. R. R. MOORE, M.A., in the Chair.

The following object was exhibited :—

By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.

A well-preserved Roman coin, found by Mr. Thomas Johnstone whilst excavating a cellar for a house he was about to build in a field near Bebington Church in 1876. On the obverse is the emperor with radiated diadem, around which is the inscription—IMP . P . LIC . VALERIANVS . P . F . AVG . On the reverse side are two figures, Valerian and Gallerian, standing and offering sacrifices at an altar. with the inscription—PIETAS AVGG(ustorum). The coin is a denarius (billon) of Valerian, and interesting from its having a hole pierced through it, and may have been used as a pendant ornament for the neck by a Saxon lady.

The following paper was read :—

ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT CARANDA, IN FRANCE. *By Joseph Smith, Jun., Esq.*

---

*April 17th*, 1879.

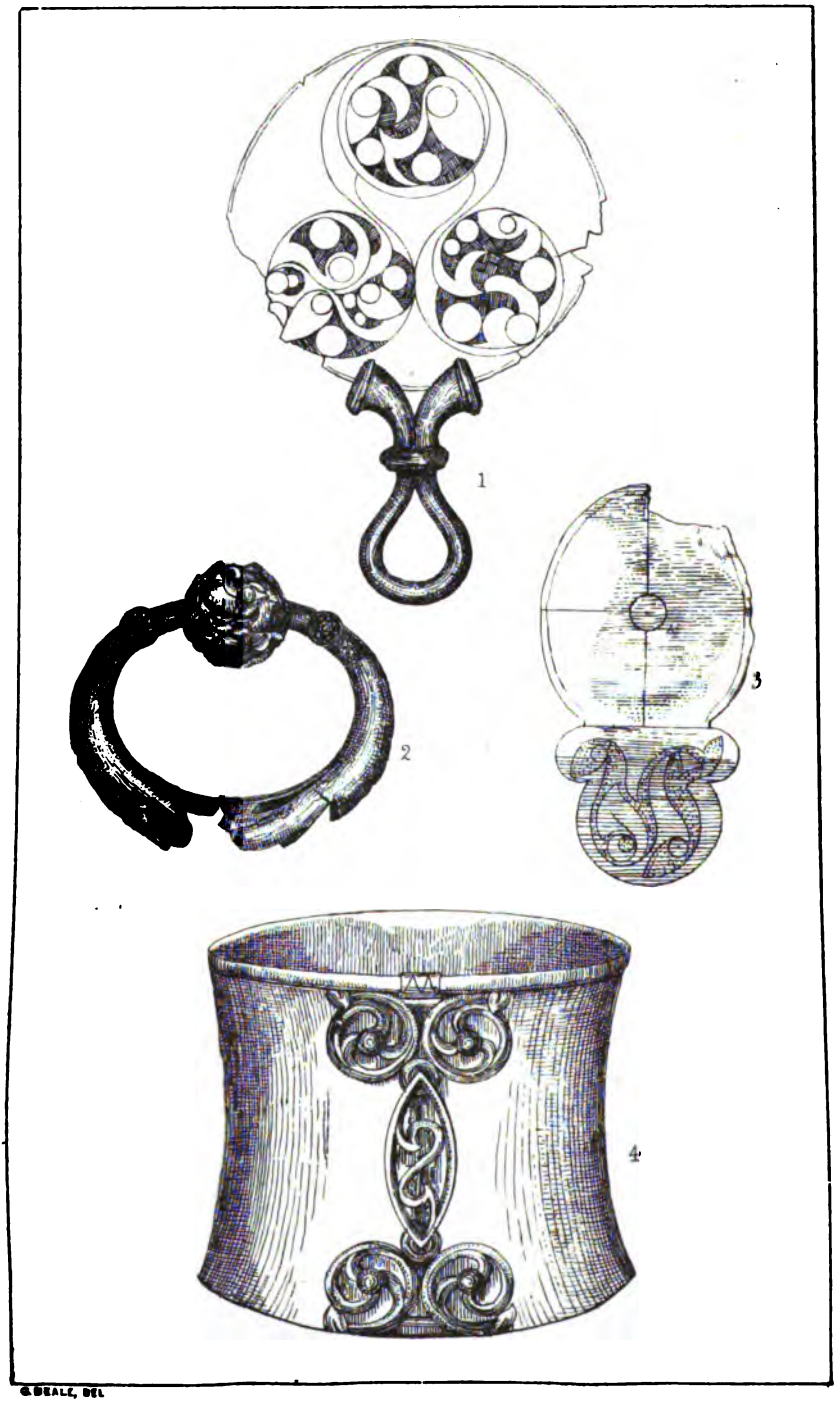
F. J. BAILEY, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Charles T. Gatty, Esq.

1. Wooden one-handled tankard or cup, encased in a thin coat of bronze, and with a bronze handle attached, ornamented with Late Celtic designs : No. 6384 in the Mayer Collection. The late Mr. Albert Way, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 65, speaks

* *Transactions*, p. 33.




LATE CELTIC ANTIQUITIES

of this vessel as being one of the most remarkable and unpublished examples of the "Late Celtic" period. He describes it as found in Merionethshire, in a turbary near Trawsfynydd, not far from the Roman remains at Tomen-y-Mur, and formerly in possession of Mr. Lloyd, of Penyglanan. See *Arch. Cam.* second series, vol. i, p. 332; also *Transactions* Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. xiv, p. 186. The cup is formed of a circle of ten wooden staves, the bottoms of which are left large and broad, forming a ledge upon which rests the bottom of the cup, which is a single circular piece of wood, raised from the base of the staves about $\frac{1}{16}$in. Running round the outside of the bottom of the ends of the staves, and bridging over the small divisions between them, run two inserted wavy lines of thin bronze wire about $\frac{1}{16}$in. wide. In the centre of the outside of the wooden bottom is a bronze knob, with a small circular bronze plate round it. The bronze covering goes from the base to the top, and folds over into the cup about 1$\frac{1}{2}$in. all round. The ornamentation of the handle covers four rivets, that go through to the inside and fix the bronze mounting to the woodwork. The cup is figured on Plate XII, fig. 4, where the ornamental work may be seen.

2. Bronze mirror, with "Late Celtic" ornamentation on one side: No. 6395 in the Mayer Collection. This mirror is also mentioned by Mr. Albert Way in the paper above referred to. He says:—"This specimen was purchased in Paris by Mr. J. C. Robinson, by "whom it was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in 1854 "as a Celtic or Gallo-Roman mirror; the place of discovery "unknown. (*Proceedings* Soc. Ant., vol. iii, p. 118.) I am informed "by Mr. Franks that it was probably found in the bed of the "Thames, in the neighbourhood of Barnes." The diameter of the mirror is 6$\frac{1}{2}$in., and the length, including the handle, 8$\frac{7}{8}$in. The mirror is figured on Plate XII, fig. 1.

3. Bronze Spoon, No. 12, 6, 79, 13, in the Mayer Collection, with Late Celtic ornamentation upon it, described by Mr. Albert Way in the paper referred to above, and figured on p. 65 of that volume. This spoon was presented to Mr. Charles Roach Smith by Mrs. Blackett, and is believed to have been found in a turbary in Ireland. Mr. Smith presented the spoon to Mr. Mayer. The spoon is figured on Plate XII, fig. 3.

4. Portion of a horse bit—an iron ring encased in a bronze cover with an ornamented boss at one side of it: No. 6396 in the Mayer Collection. This specimen was labelled "Found in Lancashire," but no further particulars are at present known. It is figured on Plate XII, fig. 2.

By the Rev. T. E. Gibson, exhibited by permission of Col. Blundell.

1. 1611. "A true Purtraiture of Sundrie Coynes found 1611 at Harkirke in "litle Crosbie." Impression from the original copper-plate in the possession of Col. Blundell of Crosby. Donation to the Society.

2. 1625. A "Quietus est" from the Pipe Office, for £204. 8. 9. Annual Value of two-thirds of the lands of Wm. Blundell, of Little Crosby, Esq.; £86. 13. 4. value of goods and cattle of do., forfeited for Recusancy. In the Roll of Recusants, 1st Charles (1625), for the County of Lancaster.
3. 1629 July 20 (5 Car.) Discharge from Sir Ralph Ashton for £80, decreed by the Star Chamber to be paid him by Wm. Blundell, of Little Crosby, Esq.
4. 1642, Dec. 22 (Leigh). *Commission, signed by Major-General Sir Thomas Tildesley, appointing William Blundell to be Captain of one Company of Dragoons in his Regiment.

The following paper was read :—

A CENTURY OF RECUSANCY, ILLUSTRATED FROM THE RECORDS OF THE BLUNDELLS OF CROSBY, Part II.† *By the Rev. T. E. Gibson.*

* Plate IV. † *Transactions*, p. 49.

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THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in Account with* JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer*.—SESSION XXX.

| RECEIPTS. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1877-8. | | | |
| Oct. 18—Balance in hand ..... | 45 | 6 | 5 |
| Subscriptions :— | | | |
| Arrears ..... | 58 | 16 | 0 |
| Session XXX ..... | 95 | 11 | 0 |
| Session XXXI, in advance | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Books sold ..... | 2 | 14 | 4½ |
| | £205 | 0 | 3½ |

| PAYMENTS. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Volume XXX :— | | | |
| Printing ..... £57 11 9 | | | |
| Illustrations ..... 10 10 0 | | | |
| | 68 | 1 | 9 |
| Sessional Expenses :— | | | |
| Rent, Royal Institution ..... | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Refreshments ..... | 8 | 9 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous Printing ..... | 10 | 0 | 5 |
| Hon. Secretary's Miscellaneous Expenses ..... | 3 | 12 | 6 |
| Secretary's ditto ditto | 1 | 15 | 2½ |
| Stationery, Postages, &c., per Treasurer ..... | 1 | 16 | 6 |
| Royal Insurance ..... | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Secretary's Salary ..... | 12 | 12 | 0 |
| Collector's Commission ..... | 3 | 14 | 0 |
| Volume—"East Cheshire" .... | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Dr. Londini, for Assorting the Stock of Soc.'s Transactions | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| Postage of Vol. per Rev. Canon Hume and Dr. Londini .... | 3 | 16 | 11 |
| | 133 | 12 | 4½ |
| Balance in hand ..... | 71 | 7 | 11 |
| | £205 | 0 | 3½ |

E. & O. E.
JOHN G. JACOB.

Audited,
FRANCIS JAMES BAILEY.

# DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

## I.—ENGLAND.

Birkenhead Literary and Philosophical Society;—Report of, Session xxi, 1877-78.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society;—Report of, Nos. xv, xvii, xviii.

Cornwall Polytechnic Society;—Forty-fifth Annual Report of, 1877.

Royal Institution;—Journal of, vol. xli, part 1, No. 20, Nov. 1878.
Sixty-first Annual Report of, 1878-79.

Essex Archæological Society;—Transactions of, vol. 1, part 4, New Series.

Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society;—Annual Report of, 1877-78.

Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society;—Transactions of, vol. iv, part 4.

Liverpool. Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Free Public Library, Museum, and Walker Art Gallery, 1878, 1879.

Naturalists' Field Club;—Proceedings of, 1877-78.

Chemists' Association;—Transactions of, Session 1877-78.

Philomathic Society;—Proceedings of, Session 1877-78.

Literary and Philosophical Society;—Proceedings of, vol. xxxii.

London. The Archæological Journal, vol. xxxiv, Nos. 134, 135, 139, 140.

Geological Society;—Quarterly Journal of, vol. xxxii, No. 127; Vol. xxxiv, Nos. 132, 134, 135, 136.

Royal Geographical Society;—Journal of, vol. xlvii, 1877.
Proceedings of, vol. i, No. 1, New Series (monthly).

Royal Society;—Proceedings of, Nos. 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193.

Society of Antiquaries, vol. vii, No. 4.

Society of Arts; Journal of, Nos. 1320 to 1358—35 Nos. (Nos. 1323, 1324, 1325, and 1356 wanting.)

Statistical Society;—Journal of, vol. xli, parts 1, 2, 3, 4.

Manchester Literary Club;—Papers of, vol. iv.
Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Free Public Libraries, 1878.

Montgomeryshire. Collections, Historical and Archæological, relating to;—Vol. xi, parts 1 and 2; vol. xii, parts 1, 2, and 3.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society;—Original Papers of, vol. iii, part 4; vol. viii, parts 1, 2, 3, and 5.

Yorkshire. Archæological and Topographical Society:—Journal of, vol. iv, part 19; vol. vii, part 1.

West Riding Geological and Polytechnic Society;—Proceedings of, part v, 1877, New Series.

2.—IRELAND.

Royal Irish Academy;—Transactions of, vol. xxiv, parts 2 and 3; vol. xxv, part 20; vol. xxvi, parts 1 to 5.
Proceedings of, vol, iii (Second Series), No. 2.

Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland; Journal of, vol. iv, part 3 (Fourth Series).

3.—FOREIGN.

America. Minnesota Historical Society;—Annual Report of, for 1878.

France. Bulletin de la Société Archeologique et Historique de l'Orleanais. tom. vi, No. 95; tom. vii. No. 96.

Italy. Società dei Lincei (Roma) Atti, (Serie Terza), vol. ii, fasc 4, 5, and 6; vol. iii, fasc 1, 2, and 3.
Società Toscana (Pisa) vol. iii, fasc 1, 2, and 3.

4.—MISCELLANEOUS.

From Morris C. Jones, Esq. Various Wood-cuts representing several places and buildings in Old Liverpool.

From the Author. Illustrations of the Rood-screen at Fritton. By the Rev. R. Hart, B.A.

From the Author. Collectanea Antiqua, Ancient Remains, &c., vol. vii, part 2. By Charles Roach Smith.

From J. Paul Rylands, Esq. An Account of the extraordinary Ceremony of cursing by Bell, Book, and Candle, which took place in the Parish Church of Leigh on Sunday, December 4th, 1474.

## NEW MEMBERS ELECTED.

Jan. 9, 1879. R. D. Radcliffe, Esq., Darley, Old Swan, Liverpool.

Jan. 9, 1879. H. Caraher, Esq., 51, Vine street, Liverpool.

Feb. 20, 1879. William Fingland, Esq., 20, High street, Wavertree, Liverpool.

Feb. 20, 1879. Richard Barton, Esq., West Leigh Lodge, Leigh, near Manchester.

Mar. 6, 1879. Lieut.-Col. Wm. Turner, Bronceris, Carnarvon.

Apr. 17, 1879. Rev. T. E. Gibson, 6, Crosby road, Birkdale, near Southport.

# INDEX.


A

Adlington, 9
Allestree Hall, 101
Arms in Lymm Church, 1
Axon, W. E. A., paper by, 109

B

Bailey, F. J., chairman, 108, 109, 116
Baines, 17, 23
Bassnet, Christopher, sermon by, 75
Belisama, Horsley s, 83
Benas, B. L., paper by, 110; chairman, 110; exhibitor, 112
Blue Coat Hospital, notice of founder, 75, 77
Blundell, 33, 49
Blundell, Captain Bryan, 75
Bowdon, 1
Boyne's *Catalogue of Tokens*, 69
Bradley Hall, 7
Bradshaigh, 52
Bradwall, 6
Burley Hill, 99

C

Calke Abbey, 101
Camden's *Britannia*, 95
Caranda, in France, 116
Castrum, Roman, at Manchester, 26
Catholics, 49, 51, 55, 62, 63
Celtic, Late, antiquities, 116-117
Chaloner, 2, 10
Cheshire, notes relating to, 67
Chester, Bishop of, 43
Clarence, Duke of, visit to Liverpool, 74
"Cleveland," the, ship, 77, 79
Coins, found at Manchester, 23; Saxon, 51; Roman, 52, 116; Meols Beach, 67, 69
Collins, his chart, 94
Crewe, Sir John, 101
Crosby, Blundells of, 33, 49

D

Danyers, 8
Daresbury, 8
Dawson's *Pamphlet Literature of Liverpool*, 75
Derby, Earl of, 37
Derbyshire, mediæval pottery found in, 97
Douay, 39, 40
Duffield, 99
Dutton, 8

E

Edward the Confessor, coin of, 68
Edward I and III, coins of, 69, 102; quarter-noble of Edward III, found on Meols Beach, 79
"Etna," Tranmere steam ferry-boat, 72
Evans, Mr. John, 101
Eyes, Mr. Charles, his book-plate, 79

F

Ferrers family, 100
Fitton, 4
Franks, A. W., 117

G

Gatty, C. T., paper by, 97; exhibitor, 108, 115
Gaucher II, sterling of, 82
Gawsworth, 1
Gibson, J. H., paper by, 67, 108: exhibitor, 109, 110, 111, 114 115
Gibson, Thomas, chairman, 107
Gibson, Rev. T. E., paper by, 33. 49; exhibitor, 117, 118
Goss, Bishop, 53
Gower, Foote, 2
Grosvenor, 9

H

Haggerston, 60
Halsall, 34
Harkirke, 51
Harwarden, 4
Henry II, coin of, 68
Henry III, coin of, 69
Herstal, sterling of, 82
Hocknell, 4
Holme Randle, 2
Horseshoe, the, as a badge, 100, 101
Horsley, 83
Hoylake, 73
Hume, Rev. Canon, chairman, 105, 109, 111; his work for the Society, 106; exhibitor, 107, 108, 110; paper by, 110

I

Inscriptions, Roman, found in Manchester, 27

J

Jacob, J. G., chairman, 115; exhibitor, 116
Jewitt, Mr. Ll., 99
John II of Hainault, sterling of, 81

L

Lancashire, notes relating to, 67
Langton, 1 *foot note*
Legh, 6
Lenten Notes of the Olden Time, 113
Lenten Litanies, 113
Leyland's election medal, Liverpool, 71
Lightfoot, Mrs., of Liverpool, miniature painter, 73
Lilly, George, his map, 87
Limme, 6
Liverpool, prison, 62; tokens, 69-70; Dawson's pamphlet literature of, 75; slave trade in, 78; tiles, 108
Lhuyd, Humphrey, his map of Cambria, 85
Louvain, 82
Lymm, 1 *et seq.*
Lysons, 22

M

Manchester, Roman, paper on, 13
Map-history of the Lancashire coast, 83
Maps—Mappæ Mundi, 84; Pilgrims' maps, 84; Anglo-Saxon, 87
Mayer, Mr. Joseph, his work for the Society, 106; elected life member, 107; exhibitor, 116
Mayer Collection, pottery in, 97; objects from, 108; Late Celtic antiquities from, 116, 117
Medal of Leyland's election, 71
Mediæval pottery, found in Derbyshire, 97
Medlock, 20
Meols Beach, coins found on, 68
Mercator, 88, 95
Modburley, 4
Molyneux, 43
Moore, Rev. R. R., chairman, 111, 114, 116
More, 56
Munster's *Cosmographia Universalis*, 85

N

Norres, 8
Nuremburg Chronicle, 89
Nutter, 43

P

PAPERS, AUTHORS OF:—
Axon, W. E. A., 109
Benas, B. L., 110
Gatty, Charles T., 97, 109
Gibson, J. H., 67, 108, 115
Gibson, Rev. T. E., 33, 49, 116, 118
Hume, Rev. Canon, 110
Rylands, J. P., 1, 112
Rylands, T. G., 83, 111
Smith, Joseph, jun., 116
Watkin, W. T., 13, 111
Perry, 21
Philip de Montmorency, count of Horn, thaler of, 112
Portulanes, 88
Potter, C., antiquities from Meols Beach, 67, 68, 79; exhibitor, 108, 111, 112
Pottery, mediæval, 97
Proceedings of the Society, 105 *et seq.*
Ptolemy's map of the Lancashire coast, 83, 91, 92, 96

R

Radcliffe, 8
Radcliffe, D., exhibitor, 110
Recruits, East India, 73
Recusancy, paper on, 33-49; deed referring to, 115
*Reliquary*, the, 99
Report of the Society for Session xxx, 105
Rylands, J. P., paper by, 1, 112
Rylands, T. G., paper by, 83, 111

S

Savage, 8
Saxton, his map of Cheshire, 88
Scarsdale, Lord, 99
Scarisbrick, 51
Sephton, for Sefton, 43, 50
Smith, H. Ecroyd, 79
Smith, Joseph, jun., paper by, 116
Star Chamber, 56, 59
Stukeley, 14

T

Tabley, 8
Tildesley, Sir Thomas, commission signed by, 118
Tokens, Liverpool, 69-71
Townley, 36
Trawsfynydd in Merionethshire, Late Celtic antiquity found at, 117

V

Valenciennes, 81
Venables, 6

W

Warrington, 1
Watkin, W. T., paper by, 13, 111; exhibitor, 109, 114
Way, Albert, 116, 117
Werburton, 5
Whitaker, 14
Wigan, 55
William I or II, coin of, 68
Wilmslow, 1
Woolston, 10
Worthington, 39

FINIS.

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HARRINGTON MONUMENT
CARTMEL CHURCH.

# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

# Lancashire and Cheshire.

SESSION 1879-80.—VOLUME XXXII.

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ADAM HOLDEN, 48, CHURCH STREET.
1880.

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T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, 58, DALE STREET.

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## ERRATA.

CLAYTON FAMILY. (PAGE 42.)

For *Gooker* read *Gookin*, and for *Bottesworth* read *Bettesworth*.

LINE 18.—Judith Clayton married Herbert Love, of Cork, and her daughter married the Rev. Ebenezer Murdock, whose daughter married Mr. Hinckeston.—[Dr. Caulfield.]

LINE 19.—Margaret was married to a Mr. Lamb, ancestor of the Lambs of Kilcoleman.—[Dr. Caulfield.] If so, her will was made before her marriage, and proved under her maiden name.—J.P.R.

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E LONDINI.

# CONTENTS.

*Papers marked thus* (*) *are illustrated.*


PAGE.

On Some Obsolete Peculiarities of English Law. By William Beamont 1

* The Claytons, of Thelwall and Sheepcroft, Co. Chester; of St. Dominick's Abbey and Doneraile, Co. Cork; and subsequently of Mallow, Co. Cork. By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A. ..... 35

Winwick and Culcheth, in Lancashire: their place in History. By T. Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A. ..... 53

* The Minor Roman Stations of Lancashire; also the Camps and Miscellaneous Discoveries in the County. By W. Thompson Watkin ..... 67

On the Coins forming a Necklace, found in St. Martin's Church Yard, Canterbury. By the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh, F.S.A. 91

Rural Life of a Lancashire Minister, 150 years ago. By James Bromley..... 117

Notes, Historical and Antiquarian, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. By J. Harris Gibson ..... 143

* The Harington Monument, in Cartmel Church. By W. O. Roper... 147

* PROCEEDINGS of Session xxxii..... 155

Report on Session xxxi..... 155

President's Address..... 163

Balance Sheet ..... 173

New Members Elected ..... 174

Donations to the Library ..... 175


## COMMUNICATIONS.


On an Old Armorial Panel Painting. By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A. ... 177

*Ancient Charters.—Ince Blundell Collection. By T. N. Morton and the Rev. T. E. Gibson ..... 179

Errata in Vol. xxx. By Miss ffarington ..... 198

Index..... 199

Prices of Volumes ..... iii

Council and Officers, Session xxxi ..... iv

List of Members..... vii

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.


TO FACE

*Frontispiece*—The Harington Monument, in Cartmel Church.....Title page

PLATE I—Roman Antiquities, found in Lancashire ..... ... page 69

,, II—Bronze Umbo of a Roman Shield, found at Kirkham... ,, 75

,, III—Fac-Simile Deed: Ince Blundell Collection, No. 6..... ,, 183


WOODCUTS.


PAGE

Seal of Hugh de Clayton ..... 37

Arms of Clayton, 1566 ..... 39

Ancient Egyptian Object (3 cuts) ..... 157 158

Mediæval Pilgrim's Badge ..... 166

*N.B.—It is requested that notice be given to the Secretary of any errors, change of address, or death.*

# LIST OF MEMBERS.

## SESSION XXXII, 1879-80.

The names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS, and those of Resident Members have an asterisk attached.

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1872. Dec. 12 | Abram, W. A. 42 *Adelaide terrace, Preston New Road, Blackburn.* |
| 1877. Feb. 22 | Adshead, George Haward. *Fern Villas,* 94 *Bolton Road, Pendleton, Manchester.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | AINSLIE, MONTAGUE. *Grizedale Hall, Hawkshead, Windermere.* |
| 1871. Jan. 12 | Andrew, Frank. *Apsley place, Ashton-under-Lyne.* |
| 1856. Dec. 4 | Ansdell, John. *Cowley House, St. Helens.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Ansdell, Richard, R.A. *Lytham House, St. Alban's road, Kensington, London, W.* |
| 1857. | ATKINSON, WILLIAM. *Claremont, Promenade, Southport.* |
| 1877. Dec. 13 | *Atherton, Webster. 33 *The Temple, Dale street, Liverpool.* |
| 1877. Dec. 13 | Axon, W. E. A. *Fern Bank, Bowker street, Higher Broughton, Manchester.* |
| 1865. Nov. 2 | *Bailey, Francis James. 51 *Grove street, Liverpool.* |
| 1876. Dec. 14 | Bailey, John Eglington, F.S.A. *Egerton Villa, Stretford, Manchester.* |
| 1876. April 20 | Bartle, Rev. George, D.D. *The College, Freshfield, Southport.* |
| 1879. Feb. 20 | Barton, Richard. *West Leigh Lodge, Leigh, Manchester.* |
| 1862. Mar. 6 | BAZLEY, SIR THOMAS, Bart. M.P. *Eyford Park, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1849. Dec. 6 | Beamont, William. *Orford Hall, Warrington.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Bell Henry. *Greenfield, West Kirby, Cheshire.* |
| 1875. Feb. 4 | *Bellew, Thomas Acheson. 23 *Canning street, Liverpool.* |
| 1864. Dec. 1 | *Benas, Baron Louis. *Imperial Buildings*, 5 *Dale street, Liverpool.* |
| 1880. Jan. 8 | *Bendall, Herbert. *The College, Shaw street, Liverpool.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Bennett, William. *Heysham Tower, Lancaster.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | *Blundell, Thomas Weld. *Ince Blundell Hall, Great Crosby.* |
| 1880. Jan. 8 | Boothroyd, Samuel. *Southport.* |
| 1853. Dec. 15 | Bossi, Arthur. *Care of Melly Brothers, Rumford Street, Liverpool.* |
| 1877. Dec. 13 | Boulton I. W. *Stamford House, Ashton-under-Lyne.* |
| 1858. April 15 | *Bower, Anthony, *Seaforth, Liverpool.* |
| 1855. Dec. 6 | Bowes, John. *Warrington.* |
| 1871. Mar. 23 | *Brakell, Thomas Forster. 58 *Dale street, Liverpool.* |
| 1848. | Bramley-Moore, John. *Gerard's Cross, Buckinghamshire.* |
| 1854. Mar. 9 | *Bright, Henry Arthur. *Ashfield, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | *Brodrick, Alan Henry. *Liverpool and London Chambers, Exchange, Liverpool.* |
| 1876. April 20 | Bromley, James. *The Homestead, Lathom, Ormskirk.* |
| 1849. May 3 | Brooke, Henry. *Ashbrook Hall, Church Minshull, Middlewich.* |
| 1851. Mar. 6 | BROOKE, SIR RICHARD, Bart. *Norton Priory, Runcorn.* |
| 1868. Feb. 6 | BROOKS, WILLIAM CUNLIFFE, M.P. F.S.A. *Barlow Hall, Manchester.* |
| 1872. April 4 | BROUGHTON, FREDERICK. *Hamilton, Canada.* |
| 1875. Mar. 4 | *Brown, Alexander, M.P. *Druid's Cross, Wavertree, Liverpool.* |
| 1879. Jan. 9 | *Caraher, Hugh. 51 *Vine street, Liverpool.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | Chadwick, David, M.P. 2 *Moorgate street, London, E.C.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1872. Sept. 5 | CHESTER, THE BISHOP OF. *The Palace, Deeside, Chester.* |
| 1880. Jan. 22 | Christie, Richard Copley, M.A. Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester. *Darley House, Matlock, Derbyshire.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | *Clark, Henry. C 7 *Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | Clayton, Ralph C. 24 *Derwent road, Old Swan, Liverpool.* |
| 1859. April 14 | CLEMENT LEONARD. *Forest View, Nelson-in-Marsden, Burnley.* |
| 1873. Dec. 11 | Cockayne, Andreas E. *Congleton, Cheshire.* |
| 1855. May 24 | *COMBER, THOMAS. B 13 *Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.* |
| 1880. Feb. 5 | Cowell, Peter. *Free Public Library, Liverpool.* |
| 1858. Mar. 4 | CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, THE EARL OF. *Haigh Hall, Wigan.* |
| 1849. Dec. 6 | *Crosfield, Henry. *Oaklands, Aigburth, Liverpool.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Crosse, Thomas Bright. *Shawe Hill, Chorley.* |
| 1850. May 2 | Crossley, James, F.S.A. *Stocks House, Cheetham, Manchester.* |
| 1872. April 4 | Crossley, John. *Briar's hey, Rainhill.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | *Culshaw, Alfred. *Park avenue, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.* |
| 1850. May 2 | *Dawson Thomas, M.D. 26 *Rodney street, Liverpool.* |
| 1857. April 23 | DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, K.G. D.C.L. F.R.S. *Chatsworth, Derbyshire.* |
| 1873. Dec. 11 | Dixon, James. *Ormskirk.* |
| 1871. Mar. 9 | *Dod, Joseph. *Bebington, Birkenhead.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | Dun, John. *Rock Villas, Latchford, Warrington.* |
| 1873. Dec. 11 | Earwaker, John Parsons, F.S.A. *Withington, Manchester.* |
| 1872. April 4 | Ebury, The Lord. 35 *Park street, Grosvenor square, London, W.* |
| 1862. Mar. 6 | *Edwards, Edward. *Adelaide Buildings, Chapel street, Liverpool.* |
| 1851. Jan. 7 | EGERTON, HON. WILBRAHAM, M.P. *Rostherne Hall, Knutsford.* |
| 1862. Mar. 6 | EGERTON OF TATTON, THE LORD. *Tatton Park, Knutsford.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1848. Nov. 23 | EGERTON, SIR PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY, Bart. M.P. F.R.S. F.S.A. *Oulton Park, Tarporley.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | *Evans, Edward. 56 *Hanover street, Liverpool.* |
| 1872. Jan. 11 | *Evans, Reginald. 56 *Hanover street, Liverpool.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | Evans, Joseph. *Haydock Grange, St. Helens.* |
| 1878. Jan. 10 | Fairclough, John. *Warrington.* |
| 1871. Jan. 12 | FERGUSON, WILLIAM. |
| | ffarington, Miss. *Worden Hall, Preston.* |
| 1879. Feb. 20 | *Fingland, W. *High street, Wavertree, Liverpool.* |
| 1880. April 1 | Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A. *The Heights, Rochdale.* |
| 1858. April 15 | *Forrest, James Alexander. 58 *Lime street, Liverpool.* |
| 1877. Jan. 11 | *Fownes, Frederick John. 10 *Lord street, Liverpool.* |
| 1857. May 7 | Frackleton, Rev. S. S. *Magherahamlet, Ballynahinch, Dromore, Ireland.* |
| 1853. Dec. 15 | FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOOLLASTON, F.R.S. F.S.A. *British Museum, London.* |
| 1848. Dec. 14 | *Gardner, Richard Cardwell. *Colonial Buildings*, 34 *Dale street, Liverpool.* |
| 1875. Jan. 7 | GARNETT, WILLIAM. *Quernmore Park, Lancaster.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | *Gaskell, John Rooth. *The Albany, Oldhall street, Liverpool.* |
| 1875. Dec. 9 | Gatty, Charles Tindal, F.S.A. *Free Public Museum, Liverpool.* |
| 1870. April 7 | Geddes, D. *Free Library, Blackburn.* |
| 1867. April 11 | *GENN, JOHN HAWKE. *The Custom House, Liverpool.* |
| 1875. Feb. 4 | *Gibson, J. Harris. 73 *Renshaw street, Liverpool.* |
| 1879. April 17 | Gibson, Rev. T. E. 6 *Crosby road, Birkdale, Southport.* |
| 1863. Nov. 5 | *Gibson, Thomas, senior. 51 *Oxford street, Liverpool.* |
| 1862. Mar. 6 | GLADSTONE, RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART, M.P. *Hawarden Castle, Flintshire.* |
| 1880. Feb. 5 | Grazebrook, George, F.S.A. *Oakhill park, Old Swan, Liverpool.* |
| 1873. April 17 | Gratrix, Samuel. *Alport Town, Deansgate, Manchester.* |
| 1862. Dec. 4 | GREEN, JOHN HENRY. *Buenos Ayres.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1854. Aug. 31 | Grenside, Rev. William Bent. *Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.* |
| 1878. Jan. 10 | Grundy, C. S. *Mount Broughton,* 111 *Bury New Road, Manchester.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | *Hance, E. W. M. *School Board Office, Dale street, Liverpool.* |
| 1856. Mar. 6 | Hardwick, Charles. 72 *Talbot street, Moss-side, Manchester* |
| 1877. Dec. 13 | *Harrison, James. *Mersey Chambers, Liverpool.* |
| 1864. Feb. 9 | HARROWBY, THE EARL OF, F.R.S. *Sandon Hall, Staffordshire.* |
| 1857. April 23 | HARTINGTON, THE MARQUESS OF, M.P. *Devonshire House,* 78 *Piccadilly, London.* |
| 1864. Dec. 8 | Heald, Thomas. *Greenfield House, Billinge, Wigan.* |
| 1877. Feb. 8 | Heginbotham, Henry. *Millgate, Stockport.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | HEYWOOD, JAMES, F.R.S. F.S.A. 26 *Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | HINMERS, W. *Cleveland House, Lancaster road, Eccles, Manchester.* |
| 1871. Jan. 12 | Hirst, John. *Ladcastle, Dobcross, Saddleworth, Manchester.* |
| 1860. Jan. 12 | *Holden, Adam. 48 *Church street, Liverpool.* |
| 1856. Dec. 18 | HOLDEN, THOMAS. *Springfield, Bolton.* |
| 1872. Jan. 11 | *Holme James. 10 *Huskisson street, Liverpool.* |
| 1854. Sept. 24 | *Holt, William Durning. *Sandfield park, West Derby, Liverpool.* |
| 1876. Feb. 10 | HORLEY, REV. ENGELBERT. *The Rectory, Sephton, Liverpool.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | *Hornby, Thomas Dyson. *Olive Mount, Mill lane, Wavertree, Liverpool.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | Howorth, Henry H. F.S.A. *Derby House, Eccles, Manchester.* |
| 1856. Dec. 4 | *Howell, Edward. 26 *Church street, Liverpool.* |
| 1849. | Howitt, Thomas. 14, *Queen's square, Lancaster.* |
| 1849. Nov. 8 | Howson, The Very Rev. John Saul, D.D. *The Deanery, Chester.* |
| 1857. Dec. 10 | *Hughes, John R. 17 *Tower Chambers, Liverpool.* |
| 1854. April 6 | Hughes, Thomas, F.S.A. *Grove terrace, Chester.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1851. | Humberston, Philip Stapleton. *Glan y Wern, Denbigh.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | HUME, REV. ABRAHAM, Hon. Canon of Liverpool, LL.D. D.C.L. F.S.A. 6 *Rupert lane, Everton, Liverpool.* |
| 1870. Feb. 10 | Hyde, John. *St. George's street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.* |
| 1852. April 1 | *Jacob, John Gibborn. 56 *Church street, Liverpool.* |
| 1875. Feb. 18 | *Jackson, William Leach. 42 *Rupert lane, Everton, Liverpool.* |
| 1861. Dec. 5 | Jackson, William. *Fleatham House, St. Bees.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Jacson, Charles R. *Barton Hall, Preston.* |
| 1849. May 3 | *Jones, Morris Charles, F.S.A. 20 *Abercromby square, Liverpool.* |
| 1858. Dec. 2 | *Jones, Robert. 7 *Batchelor street, Liverpool.* |
| 1849. May 3 | Kendrick, James, M.D. *Warrington.* |
| 1863. Nov. 5 | *King, John Thomson. 4 *Clayton square, Liverpool.* |
| 1862. Dec. 4 | *King, Col. Vincent Ashfield. *Point of Ayr, Oxton, Birkenhead.* |
| 1876. Dec. 14 | *Laird John. *Oak House, Grosvenor road, Oxton, Birkenhead.* |
| 1872. April 4 | Lathom, The Earl of. *Lathom House, Ormskirk.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | *LEDWARD SEPTIMUS. *The Albany, Oldhall street, Liverpool.* |
| 1880. Jan. 8 | Leeming, William. *Eaton House, Eaton road, West Derby, Liverpool.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Legh G. Cornwall. *High Legh, Knutsford.* |
| 1859. Dec. 1 | LEGH, W. J. M.P. *Lyme Park, Disley, Stockport.* |
| 1880. Jan. 8 | Lightfoot, John E. *Quarry Hill, Accrington.* |
| | *Livesey, Lucilla B. 2 *Prince's Avenue, Prince's road, Liverpool.* |
| 1880. April 1 | Long, William. *Thelwall Heyes, Warrington.* |
| 1862. Mar. 6 | McCorquodale, George. *The Willows, Newton-le-Willows.* |
| 1858. April 15 | *McInnes, John. 23 *Lightbody street, Liverpool.* |
| 1864. Dec. 1 | Marson, James. *Hill Cliff, Warrington.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | MASON, HUGH, M.P. *Groby Hall, Ashton-under-Lyne.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1874. Feb. 18 | *Mawdsley, James Platt. 4 *Castle street, Liverpool.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | *Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A. *Pennant House, Bebington, Cheshire.* |
| 1876. Mar. 20 | *Mercer T. W. 110 *Canning street, Liverpool.* |
| 1857. Dec. 3 | Moore, Rev. Richard R. *Cropper's Hill, St. Helens.* |
| 1849. Nov. 8 | Moore, Rev. Thomas. *Midleton College, County of Cork, Ireland.* |
| 1880. April 1 | Morris, Claude John. *The Mount, Altrincham.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Moss, Rev. John James, LL.D. *East Lydford Rectory, Somerset.* |
| 1857. Jan. 15 | Naylor, Richard Christopher. *Kelmarsh Hall, Northampton.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | Nicholson, Edward Joseph. *Grappenhall, Warrington.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Nicholson, James, F.S.A. *Thelwall Hall, Warrington.* |
| 1880. Jan. 8 | Paley, Edward G. *Lancaster.* |
| 1871. Jan. 12 | Patterson, James. 11 *Palmyra square, Warrington.* |
| 1871. Feb. 9 | Pearson, John E. *Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.* |
| 1860. Mar. 21 | Petty, Thomas Shaw. *Stockbridge, Ulverston.* |
| 1849. Jan. 6 | *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A. *Sandy Knowe, Wavertree, Liverpool.* |
| 1877. Dec. 13 | Pierpoint, Robert. *Windham Club, St. James' square, London, W.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | Pilkington, James. *Park Place House, Blackburn.* |
| 1853. Feb. 10 | Platt, Robert. *Stalybridge.* |
| 1878. Feb. 7 | *Potter, Charles. 101 *Miles street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.* |
| 1857. Mar. 12 | *Preston, George Theophilus Robert. 13 *Vernon street, Liverpool; and Ellel Grange, Lancaster.* |
| 1879. Jan. 9 | *Radcliffe, Richard Duncan. *Darley, Old Swan, Liverpool.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | *Rathbone, Philip Henry. *Greenbank Cottage, Wavertree, Liverpool.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | *Rathbone, Samuel Greg. *Yew Tree House, Allerton, Liverpool.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1854. Dec. 29 | Rees, William. 66 *Carter street, Greenheys, Manchester.* |
| 1877. Feb. 22 | Ridgway, T. J. *Wildersmoor House, Lymm.* |
| 1876. April 20 | Rigby, John. 21 *Market street, Bury.* |
| 1855. Dec. 20 | Robin, Rev. P. R. *Woodchurch, Birkenhead.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | *Rogerson, George Russell. 5 *Cook street, Liverpool.* |
| 1876. April 20 | Roper, William O. *Lancaster.* |
| 1870. Nov. 3 | Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A. *Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington.* |
| 1854. Sept. 25 | Rylands, Peter, M.P. *Massey Hall, Warrington.* |
| 1854. Dec. 13 | Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.S.A. *Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | Rylands, William Harry, F.S.A. *Society of Biblical Archæology,* 11 *Hart street, London, W.C.* |
| 1872. Mar. 21 | SALISBURY, THE MARQUESS OF. *Hatfield, Herts.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | *Salthouse, Rev. Robert. *St. James' Parsonage, West Derby, Liverpool.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | *Sefton, The Earl of. *Croxteth Hall, Liverpool.* |
| 1853. June 2 | SHARP, WILLIAM. 29 *Albert gate, Hyde Park, London.* |
| 1880. Mar. 4 | Sharp, William. *Sankey street, Warrington.* |
| 1879. Dec. 11 | Sherratt, James S. *Bold street, Warrington.* |
| 1848. Nov. 23 | SIMPSON, Rev. SAMUEL. *Kingston House, Chester.* |
| | Smith, E. W. B. *District Co-operative Society, Bury.* |
| 1863. April 16 | SMITH, HENRY ECROYD. *Saffron-Walden, Essex.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | Standish, Rev. John. *Lincoln.* |
| 1856. Jan. 3 | STANIFORTH, Rev. THOMAS. *Storrs Hall, Windermere.* |
| 1880. April 1 | Stanning, Rev. Joseph Heaton. *The Vicarage, Leigh, Lancashire.* |
| 1863. Feb. 5 | Steele, Alexander, sen. LL.D. *Strathallan Hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.* |
| 1876. April 6 | *Stewart, Rev. Alexander. 29 *Sandon street, Liverpool.* |
| 1852. Mar. 4 | *Sykes, James. 115 *Dale street, Liverpool; and Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde.* |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | TAYLOR, JAMES. *Whitley Hall, Wigan.* |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1867. Jan. | 17 THORP, HENRY. *Chatham Mills, Lower Ormond street, Manchester.* |
| 1851. Dec. | 8 *Tinne, John Abraham. *Briarley, Aigburth.* |
| 1879. Mar. | 6 Turner, Lieut.-Col. William. *Broncerns, Carnarvon, North Wales.* |
| 1848. Nov. | 23 VARTY, THOMAS. *Stag Stones, Penrith.* |
| 1869. Dec. | 16 Vaudrey, Benjamin Llewellyn. *Tushingham Hall, Whitchurch.* |
| 1872. Dec. | 12 Veevers, R. *Woningworth, Fulwood Park, Preston.* |
| 1873. Dec. | 11 Waddington, W. A. 16 *Piccadilly road, Burnley.* |
| 1878. Jan. | 10 Walmsley, J. H. *Salford, Manchester.* |
| 1867. Dec. | 12 *Walmsley, Gilbert G. 50 *Lord street, Liverpool.* |
| 1851. Mar. | 6 Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton. *Arley Hall, Northwich, Cheshire.* |
| 1861. Dec. | 5 *Waterhouse, Nicholas. *Durning road, Liverpool.* |
| 1849. Feb. | 1 *Webster, George. 6 *York Buildings, Dale street, Liverpool; and Overchurch hill, Upton, Cheshire.* |
| 1856. Jan. | 3 WELTON, THOMAS A. 6 *Offerton road, London, S. W.* |
| 1862. Mar. | 13 Westminster, The Duke of. *Eaton Hall, Chester.* |
| 1851. Oct. | 9 Whitley, Rev. John. *Newton-in-Makerfield Rectory, Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire.* |
| | Wilbraham, Hon. Adela M. Bootle. *Blythe Hall, Ormskirk.* |
| 1879. Dec. | 11 Willett, Henry. *Arnold House, Brighton.* |
| 1861. Feb. | 14 Wilson, J. M. *Hardshaw street, St. Helens.* |
| 1850. Mar. | 7 WINMARLEIGH, THE LORD. *Winmarleigh House, Garstang.* |
| 1865. Dec. | 7 WOOD, RICHARD HENRY, F.S.A. *Penrhos House, Rugby.* |
| 1855. May | 7 WOODHOUSE, JOHN GEORGE. *Burg Hill, Hereford.* |

## ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1880. Oct. | 5 Morton, T. N. 19, *Odsey Street, Kensington, Liverpool.* |
| 1880. Oct. | 5 Watkin, W. T. 39, *Plumpton street, Everton, Liverpool.* |

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1854. Sept. 27 | Babington, Charles Cardale, F.S.A. 5 *Brookside, Cambridge.* |
| 1880. Oct. 5 | Burke, Sir John Bernard, C.B. LL.D. Ulster King of Arms. *The Castle, Dublin.* |
| 1880. Oct. 5 | Chester, Colonel Joseph Lemuel, LL.D. 124 *Southwark Park road, London, S.E.* |
| 1855. Feb. 1 | Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A. *The Roos, Saffron-Walden, Essex.* |
| 1875. Jan. 7 | Coughtrey, Millen. *London street, Otago, New Zealand.* |
| 1880. Oct. 5 | Dean, John Ward. 18 *Somerset street, Boston, Mass. United States of America.* |
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Hooker, Sir Joseph Dalton, C.B. *Kew Gardens, London.* |
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Huxley, Thomas Henry, F.R.S. 4 *Marlborough place, St. John's Wood, London.* |
| 1854. Sept. 27 | Latham, R. Gordon, M.D. 96 *Disraeli road, Putney, London.* |
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Lubbock, Sir John, Bart, M.P. F.R.S. F.S.A. *High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.* |
| 1852. Dec. 9 | MacAdam, Robert. 18 *College square East, Belfast.* |
| 1854. Sept. 27 | Owen, Richard, C.B. F.R.S. *British Museum, London.* |
| 1880. Oct. 5 | Ruskin John, LL.D. *Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire.* |
| 1854. Sept. 27 | Sabine, General Sir Edward, F.R.S. 13 *Ashley place, London, S.W.* |
| 1851. Feb. 6 | Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A. *Temple place, Strood, Kent.* |
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Stokes, George Gabriel, LL.D. *Pembroke College, Cambridge.* |
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Tyndall, John, F.R.S. 21 *Albermarle street, London.* |
| 1870. Jan. 20 | Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie Edward Charles, F.S.A. 58 *Belgrave road, London, S.W.* |

# TRANSACTIONS.

## ON SOME OBSOLETE PECULIARITIES OF ENGLISH LAW.

*By William Beamont, Esq.*

(Read 19th February, 1880.)

AT one time or another possibly everyone of us has watched the pointer of a sundial, and has thought within himself how slowly its shadow moves. To him whose observation of it is limited to a few minutes, this ghost of sunshine—dark where other ghosts are light—is unlike them also in this respect, that while they flit to and fro like the bat or the butterfly, it creeps along so noiselessly and so stealthily, that, unconscious of its motion, you almost deem it stationary; and yet the earth, of whose motion it is born and partakes, is spinning round on her axis and whirling along in space at the rate of thousands of miles in the hour. If we would sensibly mark the advance of the shadow, we must watch it at intervals; and so it must be with all within, around, and about us. Changes in our habits, customs, and external circumstances are continually going on; nay, it is said, that once in every seven years even our whole frames are renewed, and retain no particle of their former selves. But this change is so gradual that we are unconscious of it, except by comparing the same circumstances at different periods, which thus becomes our Nilometer to mark the difference between the stream of time at one period and another.

Whoever looks upon the face of English law as it now is, grave

and sedate, with looks repelling rather than inviting acquaintance, can have little idea of the changes she has undergone since the times when—

> "A painted vest Prince Vortigern had on,
> Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won,"

nor of those quaint and fantastic features which she has worn at different periods since that somewhat Irish mode of reckoning; and yet it is the same law still, only in different stages of its existence. Some of these changes I propose to bring before you this evening; and treated as it is capable of being, the subject may be rendered pleasant by the contemplation of those circumstances of the past which antiquity has made picturesque, and profitable from the evidence of progress which that contemplation will afford us. You must not expect, however, that on such a subject I shall be able to bring before you anything which is new, or which is not to be found in those amusing volumes which form the lawyers' library.

In the year 1807, when Mr. Duckenfield Astley served the office of High Sheriff of Cheshire, and came as usual to conduct the judges into the city, he made his entrance into Chester in much state. Colonel Hanson's corps of Manchester rifle volunteers, in uniforms of green and silver, with their band playing military airs, lined the streets. Between their ranks first came a number of the High Sheriff's friends, either mounted on horseback or in showy equipages. To these succeeded his mounted tenantry, in looped hats and frocks of green and gold, such as might have been worn by Robin Hood and his greenwood followers, and with javelins of antique shape. The tenantry were headed by six trumpeters in gay uniforms, with clarions, from which depended silken banners, embroidered and richly blazoned with the sheriff's arms and ancestral honours. The music of the clarions regulated the march of the procession. Next to the tenantry, in apparel meant for speed, like Malise in the *Lady of the Lake*, of whom we read that

> "The dun deer's hide
> On fleeter foot was never tied,"

came the High Sheriff's running footman, in a dress of the olden time, fantastic and picturesque.

Before we go on, a word or two about running footmen may not be out of place. According to old authorities, they were dieted and trained for their work like the Oxford and Cambridge crews; took eggs and ate hare to make them fleet of foot, and drank white wine from a ball screwed to the top of the *hasta pura* which they carried. In Queen Elizabeth's time, they kept festival on St. Patrick's Day; which might be because they were principally Irish. They could travel sixty miles a day, sometimes going at the rate of seven miles an hour. Either up hill or down hill, they could keep ahead of a coach and six; but on level ground they would sometimes make signs to the coachman to slacken speed. Lord Stamford, advertising for one of them in 1733, says, "he must be "of modest behaviour among the feminine gender;" and Chambers, in his *Book of Days* (p. 99), mentions the sign of the Running Footman, over a house in Berkeley Square, under which was written, "I am the only Running Footman." But the only one could not be the last, as the Cheshire example shews. He had on a silk vest of light blue, with white sleeves; a white kilt, fashioned like a Highlander's; and pumps, with rosettes. From the top of the crimson velvet skull cap which covered his head, threads of silver lace fell in a circle round the crown, and he carried in his hand a white wand, the badge of his office.

Immediately after this antiquated officer, seated in a splendid chariot, appeared the High Sheriff and his chaplain; the latter in his clerical robes, and the former in his cocked hat and sword, the hilt of which was of cut steel and sparkled brighter than silver. The sheriff's chariot was drawn by six beautiful chesnut horses, caparisoned with richly mounted harness; the two leaders guided by a youthful postillion, in a cap and rich livery; and the others driven four-in-hand by a portly coachman, in powdered wig, three-cornered hat, and full state dress. A bevy of lacqueys, in gay liveries, attended the sheriff's

carriage, and were followed by a stud of led horses, with holsters and gay saddles, and caparisoned in a variety of rich and fanciful housings; some of which were of polished leather, with plated ornaments, some of leopard's skin, and others of cloth or velvet, each of a different colour—crimson, green, and gold. Several of the horses were beautiful animals, and all of them had their own grooms, in picturesque dresses, walking at their head. The rear of the cavalcade was brought up and closed by a long array of the High Sheriff's official servants, the bailiffs of the county, mounted on horseback, and dressed in scarlet uniforms and black caps.

Comparatively recent as this entrance of a High Sheriff is, nothing but its spectre can be traced in what occurs at the entrance of the High Sheriff into an assize town now. The bailiffs have lost their uniforms and nearly all their functions; the led horses, vain of their finery and conscious of their importance in the procession, prance and caper no more. The six trumpeters have dwindled into two. The running footman, who was perhaps the last of his race, has passed into history; or only graces the roll of a modern High Sheriff's expenses, like the dead men on Falstaff's or Marlborough's muster rolls. "We have a "number of shadows to fill up the muster rolls," was Falstaff's confession (*Henry IV*, part 2).

Let me now take you into court, to witness the trial of a single prisoner, which took place at the assizes thus ceremoniously ushered in. The Court of Session, at Chester, had not then been abolished, and its two judges, who sat together, were Mr. Justice Dallas and Mr. Justice Burton—the latter of whom was blind. Their scarlet robes were edged only with velvet, instead of ermine, to distinguish them from the judges at Westminster. Those gay nosegays of sweet flowers lying on the desk before them, are not there merely to gratify the senses of sight and smell, but are meant to be of use; for it is believed that the odour of flowers and perfumes acts as a febrifuge, and keeps off the danger of infection. "The most "pernicious, next to the plague," says Bacon, "is the smell of

"the gaol where prisoners have been long and closely kept, "whereof we have had experience in our own day, when both "the judges that sat upon the gaol delivery, and numbers of "those who attended the business upon it, sickened and died;" and he adds, "it is well known that vegetable odours have been "deemed, in infected countries, sufficient preventives of the "plague; and it was imagined that the spread of gaol typhus "might be obviated in a similar manner." Instances of the deadly nature of this typhus have accumulated since Bacon's time. One of its victims was that Alexander Rigby, one of the besiegers of Lathom House, to whom the Countess of Derby sent her spirited reply to his summons to her to surrender. Rigby had practised at the bar before the civil war, and when it was over he doffed his red coat for a scarlet gown, and going the home circuit with Baron Gates, in 1650, they were both fatally struck with gaol fever, and died at Croydon. And still more lately, at the Old Bailey in 1750, the Lord Mayor, two of the judges, and many other eminent persons fell under the ravages of this same disease. Happily this is almost the last recorded instance of the outbreak of gaol fever, which is mainly owing to the improved state of our prisons, through the instrumentality of Howard, the philanthropist.

But we are now in the court, the prisoner is standing at the bar, and the crier having thrice given the usual "O yes," calls upon all persons who know of any treasons, felonies, and misdemeanours by him committed, to come forward and inform the court thereof; after which, the clerk of the Crown addresses him. "You, John Thompson, hold "up your hand." And on his raising it in obedience to this command, the clerk then says to him:—"You stand indicted, by "the name of John Thompson, for that you, at Tarvin, one "silver spoon, of the value of thirteen pence, of the goods and "chattels of one Job Smith, feloniously did steal: How say you? "Are you guilty or not guilty of this felony?" And upon the prisoner's pleading "not guilty," the clerk addressing him again, said, "Culprit, how will you be tried;" and the prisoner answered,

"By God and my country;" to which the clerk immediately rejoined, "May God send you a good deliverance." The clerk then taking up the panel said to him, "Prisoner at the bar, these "good men, whose names are about to be called, are the same "that the sheriff has returned to pass between our lord the King "and you. If you have any objection to make to them, or any "of them, you must make it as they come to the book to be "sworn, and before they are sworn, and you shall be heard." The names of twelve persons were then called, and no objection having been made to any of them, the clerk said to the crier, "Count these;" when the latter slowly counted the names after the clerk, so as to ascertain that they were exactly twelve. As soon as the jury was sworn, the clerk shortly stated the charge against the prisoner, and that he had pleaded not guilty, and had put himself upon God and his country: "which country," he added, "you are." The case against the prisoner was then temperately stated by the counsel for the Crown, who supported it by the evidence of his witnesses; after which the prisoner's witnesses were called and examined by his counsel. The case against the prisoner was simple, and admitted of easy proof; the jury therefore, without retiring from the box, found the prisoner guilty; upon which the clerk said to them, "Gentlemen of the "jury, hearken to your verdict, as the court has recorded it: "You say that the prisoner is guilty, and so you say all." And then turning to the bar, he said, "Prisoner at the bar, you have "been tried and found guilty of the crime of grand larceny, with "which you stood charged. Have you or know you anything "why sentence should not now be passed upon you, according "to law?" Lord Campbell tells us that once, when such a question was put to a prisoner, he replied, that "he had a great "objection to make, since he had not been tried by the *judge*, but "only by the serjeant, sitting as his *journeyman*." But John Thompson, now on his trial, had something to say more to the purpose; for, falling on his knees, and holding up his hands, he prayed to be allowed the benefit of clergy. And here, while the prisoner is on his knees, let us pass in review some of the stages

of his trial, enquire into their reasons, and, in pursuance of our object, remark how many of them have become obsolete since this trial took place.

And first, what meant that triple "O yes" of the crier before the trial? Our German ancestors were enamoured of this number three, and traces of their affection for it remain in many of our customs. They thought scorn of the freeman who obeyed a summons until it had been three times repeated. We have borrowed from their habit the usage of three days' grace to a bill. There are often three heats to a race. The song tells us that King, Lords, and Commons must concur in making a law; that the bride cake must pass three times through the ring before it can gain its magical efficacy; and that the banns must be published three times before the wedding can take place. But if the three "yeses" are a Saxon relic, they come to us in a dress which marks our subjection. We boast of our French conquests in the days of our Edwards and our Henries, but we forget all the while that these have passed away, and left us nothing but rancour and jealousy: the earlier conquest of England by William the Norman remains indelibly impressed upon our national character and in our national language. The conquest has given a long line of monarchs to the English throne, while it has enriched our language and softened our manners. Such consequences may well reconcile us to hearing the French *oyez*, "hear," transformed into the plain but unmeaning English "O yes."

But what means the command uttered to the prisoner to hold up his hand? And why is he so ready to obey it, probably without exactly knowing the reason? When a similar command was given to the celebrated Earl of Essex, at his trial in Westminster Hall, in 1600, we are told that he did hold it up of a great height, saying that he was sorry he did it not to a better purpose. Had the object been to procure an admission of his identity, *that* had been better attained by asking the prisoner to answer to his name. But by thus holding up his hand the prisoner was supposed at once to admit his identity and to shew the court that he had never been burnt in the hand. What this burning

was and why inflicted we shall understand better by and by. The offence for which the prisoner was indicted was that of grand larceny, or the stealing of goods above the value of twelve pence, an offence which down to our own times remained a capital offence, and was punishable with death. In the days of Athelstan, or before, when this law began, money was scarce, and twelve pence was a considerable sum. In the reign of our Henry I it was still sufficient to purchase a well-fed ox. But in the Saxon era offences might be redeemed by the payment of a pecuniary fine—a beneficial law, which, however, fell into disuse in subsequent times.

The strange inconsistency of attaching the same punishment to murder and to the crime of stealing a shilling was adverted to by Sir Thomas More; and Sir Henry Spelman, in his day, very justly complained that, while the nominal value of everything else had risen and become dearer, human life, the most valuable of all, had grown continually cheaper. This inconsistency no longer disgraces the statute book; and we owe its removal to the late Sir Robert Peel, who in the year 1827 obtained an act by which the distinction between grand larceny and petty larceny, which was stealing anything of less value than a shilling, was abolished.

In asking John Thompson how he would be tried, the clerk, as you may remember, addressed him as "culprit," which seems a strange term to apply to a man not yet tried, and who must therefore be presumed to be innocent, But as "O yes" is a corruption from the French, so "culprit" springs from an alliance of that language with the Latin, another language formerly much used in the law. The first syllable is a contraction from *culpabilis*, or guilty, and the second is from an old French word *prit*, signifying ready, and as used by the Clerk of the Crown, the whole word signifies that he meant to prove him guilty. Perhaps you think it remarkable that when he was asked how he would be tried, the prisoner should have answered as he did, "By God and "my country." In law language the jury are the prisoner's peers or equals; and so the clerk, in charging the jury with the prisoner,

told them that they were his country. This sufficiently explains the latter portion of the prisoner's answer, but what did the former part mean? Are not the two inconsistent, if not contradictory? And is there no irreverence in thus coupling them together? God is not only the author of justice but the source of mercy. In this sense he is everywhere present, and he can clear the innocent or confound the guilty in every or in any mode of trial. But to raise his creature man, he has given him reason to be his guide, and in dealing with him he is pleased to work not by miracles but by means. The jury, though an excellent, is not a perfect mode of trial. It partakes of the imperfection which clings to everything human.

In old times a prisoner standing at the bar had the choice offered him of several modes of trial. He might have chosen to be tried by the ordeal which was called "the judgment of God," as a jury was called a trial by the country. This trial by ordeal prevailed in other countries besides our own. The emperor Lascaris being sick, and thinking his sickness was the effect of magic, directed all whom he suspected to prove their innocence by the ordeal—"thus joining," says the author of the story, "the "most dubious crime with the most dubious proof of innocence." Is it not probable that the seeming conflict in the prisoner's answer arose from confounding the two modes of trial, and that the prisoner's answer, when asked to name his mode of trial, might have originally been, not by God *and* my country, but by God *or* my country?—for the ordeal was called *judicium Dei.*

But what was this trial by ordeal, which was formerly in the prisoner's choice? It was of two kinds—the fire ordeal for persons of higher rank, and the water ordeal for ordinary offenders. The fire ordeal was performed either by holding a large piece of hot iron without receiving injury from the touch, or else by walking safe, with the eyes bandaged and the feet naked, over nine heated ploughshares disposed at irregular distances. In the water ordeal the suspected person either plunged his arm bare to the elbow into boiling water, in which case his innocence was established if he escaped unhurt; or he

was thrown, with his arms and feet pinioned, into a river or a pond, when, if he floated, he was adjudged to be guilty, but if he sank, he was acquitted. Which of these modes, I ask, would any of us prefer to the trial by jury? But this mode of trial by ordeal was condemned by act of parliament so long ago as 45 Henry III (1261).

But what would have been the consequence if, when the prisoner was asked how he would be tried, instead of putting himself upon the country, he had either wilfully remained silent, or persisted in answering nothing to the purpose? What course would have been taken under such circumstances? When a prisoner says nothing to the purpose, or makes no answer at all, he is said to stand mute, and his offence was formerly punished by the punishment called *peine forte et dure*. By this he was ordered back to the place from whence he came, and there to be placed in a low, dark chamber. He was there to be laid naked on his back upon the bare floor, and upon him was to be heaped the greatest weight of iron which his body would bear. No sustenance was to be given him, save only on the first day three morsels of the worst bread, and on the second three draughts of standing water that should be found nearest to the prison door; and this was to be his daily diet until he died, or, as it ran in the words of the judgment, "until he answered." He who died under the *peine forte et dure* was held not to have been convicted of felony, and consequently incurred neither escheat nor forfeiture of his lands, both which would have followed from a conviction. Savage as this punishment was, there have not been wanting those who were willing to brave it rather than incur the consequences of a conviction for felony.

A memorable instance of this occurs in the annals of a great family in the north. One of them, it is said, having in a fit of jealousy killed his wife and all their children who were at home by throwing them from the battlements of his castle, set out to a neighbouring grange, where his only surviving child was at nurse, with the intention of murdering it also; but a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which overtook him on the way, arrested

his progress, and gave conscience time to speak. Forthwith abandoning his purpose, he gave himself up to justice; but in order to preserve his estates for the solitary little one, who had so narrowly escaped a different fate, he refused to plead to the indictment, and died by the punishment of *peine forte et dure.*

This punishment of a silent tongue bespeaks the barbarity of the times in which it arose, but it long outlived those times, and remained a part of the law of England until the year 1772, when it was enacted that, whoever being arraigned for any felony or perjury, should stand mute, should be held to have been thereby actually convicted. This law for ever put an end to the punishment of the *peine forte et dure;* but it has been well suggested that, if instead of being *ipso facto* convicted, a prisoner standing mute had been held to have pleaded not guilty, and put upon his trial accordingly, it had been better; for since the statute, at least two persons have been found guilty and executed under the statute, who had obstinately refused to plead. But this is now altered by 7 and 8 George IV., and a prisoner now standing mute is held to plead that he is not guilty. It will be recollected that before calling the jury the clerk of the crown invited the prisoner to listen to their names, and to challenge such as he objected to as they came to the book to be sworn. In condescension to human infirmity, the law allows every prisoner to set aside a certain number of the jury without any cause assigned, and these are called his peremptory challenges. It also allows him to set aside any others, for good cause shewn; but, formerly, if a prisoner persisted in making more than thirty-five peremptory challenges, he incurred the penalties of the *peine forte et dure,* and he would now be treated as if he had pleaded not guilty.

After the jury had been called over and sworn, we heard the clerk of the crown say to the crier, "Count these;" an expression which, like the word "O yes," is nothing more than the Norman *conntez* done into English. The case for the crown was, as we have seen, conducted by counsel, and counsel also appeared for the prisoner, John Thompson. But there was this difference

between them; that, while the counsel for the crown stated the case to the jury, and afterwards commented upon it, and addressed them upon the evidence, the prisoner's counsel was not allowed to do more than ask a question or raise a point of law on his behalf. On one side was power, and on the other weakness, and many apologies were offered for this state of things. By one of them it was said that prisoners were special objects for the court's protection, and that the bench was their counsel, who would not suffer them either to be unjustly oppressed or convicted. By another it was said that prisoners had no need of counsel, for that in England the evidence of guilt ought to be so clear, that no man ought to be convicted while there remained the smallest chance of his innocence. But none of these, or any other reasons proved sufficient to satisfy those who thought deeply on the subject, and much less the class whom it more immediately concerned. When the law was in this unequal state, it is said that a poor woman, who was on her trial at the Knutsford sessions, and had engaged counsel to defend her, having listened for some time to the prosecuting counsel stating the case against her, with all its aggravations, leaned over the dock and begged him to sit down and let her counsel talk a bit, for she had paid him a guinea and never heard him open his mouth yet. But this anomaly was at length remedied; and by the statute of 6 and 7 William IV, c. 114, prisoners are to have the same benefit of counsel as the crown; and since that statute the advantage, so far as counsel is concerned, is rather on the prisoner's side.

But we left the prisoner on his knees, praying to be allowed the benefit of clergy. Let us now enquire what that benefit meant. The respect paid to religion and learning in the dark ages was not only the occasion of converting places of supposed sanctity into places of safety for offenders, when it was called sanctuary, but it also gave immunity to the persons of such as officiated in them, which came to be called benefit of clergy. The privilege of sanctuary, where offenders, fleeing to escape justice, might find safety, was enjoyed by many places in ancient

time. At Ripon, by the grant of King Athelstan, there was safety

> "On ilka side the kirke a mile,
> For ilka deede and ilka guile."

But in this, as in other cases, the privilege continued after the reason of it was forgotten; and then it became an abuse. We are all, no doubt, familiar with the privilege of this sort, and the ill use which was made of it at Whitefriars, as described in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, which, although a novel, is in this respect history. But that other plant, sprung from the same stem—the immunity of clerks and persons of learning from punishment for their crimes, which came at last to be called benefit of clergy, is what we have now more immediately to do with.

In a rude and uncivilised age, religion and learning were the antagonistic elements which were to civilise society, and teach it to submit to purer influences than the law of brute force; and it was in the nature of man that they who exercised the offices of religion should claim for themselves some peculiar exemptions and privileges. Upon the continent the clergy very early claimed exemption from all secular jurisdiction. But in England their immunity was less extensive, and they were only exempt from the secular jurisdiction in certain capital cases; while, as to all others, they remained liable to punishment in the king's courts, like his other subjects. At first, this exemption was strictly confined to those persons who were either actually in orders, or had received the ecclesiastical tonsure; but afterwards it was understood to include also all such laymen as were able to read, and who could prove such capacity by reading a passage from Holy Scripture at the bar. And from this time actual clerks and learned laymen stood exactly upon the same footing, until the reign of Henry VII; when, it being thought that though laymen who could read might be accounted clerks, yet that they ought not in all respects to be put on the same footing as actual ecclesiastics; and it was enacted that no person once admitted to the benefit of clergy should be allowed it a second time, unless he produced his orders; and that in order to

identify their persons, all laymen to whom this privilege was granted, should be burnt in the brawn of the left hand, murderers with the letter "M," and thieves with the letter "T." And this, I apprehend, was the reason why the prisoner, whose trial we have been witnessing, was required to hold up his hand. When Cade, the rebel, boasted that he feared neither sword nor fire, his aide-de-camp slyly whispered aside, that "he need fear no sword, "for his coat was of proof;" and Dick, another aide-de-camp, whispered as slyly, "but methinks he should stand in fear, "having been burned in the hand for sheep-stealing."* A living witness informs me that he himself saw a prisoner, who had been convicted of manslaughter, burnt in the hand in a crowded court, who all heard the fizzing noise which the branding iron caused. The clasp, for holding the prisoner's hands, was kept in the dock at Chester until the last few years; and in the days of Queen Anne, a supply of new branding irons was always sent with the judges on circuit (Doran's *Monarchs Retired from Business*, I, 138).

As it gives us a curious trait of ancient manners, and an insight into the state of education at the time, I stop here to notice a statute of Edward VI, which enacts that all peers having a voice in parliament, shall have the benefit of their peerage equivalent to that of clergy for the first offence, although they cannot read, and without being burnt in the hand in all offences clergyable to commoners, and, which is still more worthy of remark,—and I pray you to mark it,—for the crimes of housebreaking, highway robbery, horse stealing, and robbery of churches. If these were the crimes which the nobles were expected to commit, what might not be expected from commoners? After this burning the laity, and before it the clergy, were discharged from being further punished in the king's courts, and were delivered over to the ordinary, to be dealt with according to the ecclesiastical canons; whereupon the ordinary proceeded to make a purgation of the offender by his own oath and the oaths of twelve compurgators,

* Shakespeare committed here an intentional anachronism. Burning in the hand was not known till after Cade's time.

notwithstanding that he had previously been convicted by a jury, or perhaps by his own confession. It is said of a Welsh jury who had acquitted a prisoner after hearing his confession read to them, and who on being remonstrated with on their finding so strange a verdict, told the judge that they had known the prisoner to be a notorious liar all his life, and that they could not believe he spoke the truth when it made against him. But the conduct of this Welsh jury was reasonable in comparison with the purgation of offenders by the ecclesiastical judge, which came at last to be attended with such notorious perjury that a statute was passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by which it was enacted that after the offender had been allowed his clergy, he should no longer be delivered to the ordinary, but, after being first burnt in the hand, if a layman, he should forthwith be discharged, except that the judge, if he thought fit, might continue him in gaol for any term not exceeding one year; and that all offenders who had once been allowed their clergy, as well as all other offenders who could not read, should be hanged. Not unreasonably did Jack Cade reproach the law with this absurdity, when, addressing Lord Say, he said—"Monsieur, thou hast put men in prison, and "because they could not read thou hast hanged them, when "indeed only for this cause they had been worthy to live." A part of the 51st Psalm, "Miserere," was used as the trial verse, in allusion to which the poet makes William of Deloraine exclaim—

> "Letter or line know I never a one,
> Wer't my neck-verse at Haribee."
>
> *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto I.

At a time when the law was thus bloody, the story which is told of Lord Holt becomes probable enough. Before he engaged heartily in the law, he had led a somewhat irregular life; and some time afterwards, when he had been made a judge, he recognised in the person who stood before him one of his old acquaintances of the Poins and Falstaff school. His lordship, after the trial, went to see him in the gaol, and enquired after some of his old companions, to which the prisoner replied—"Oh, sir, they are all hanged but me and your lordship!"

In the reign of Queen Anne the legislature extended the benefit of clergy a step further, and enacted that it should be granted to all who were entitled to claim it, without actually requiring them to read; and thus was abolished the necessity of the neck-verse, which was so called because by reading it the prisoner saved his neck. This was followed by two statutes: one in the reign of George I, which enacted that when any person should be convicted either of grand or petty larceny, and should be entitled to benefit of clergy and liable only to burning in the hand, the court might direct the offender to be transported; and the other in the reign of George III, which empowered the court to substitute a pecuniary fine in lieu of burning in the hand; and thus another relic of the benefit of clergy was substantially abolished. Benefit of clergy was not allowed in petty larceny, or stealing under the value of twelve pence, because such thefts were not capital: and it was expressly taken away in murder, arson or the burning of houses, in burglary or the breaking into houses at night, and perhaps in some other atrocious crimes, but, generally speaking, it was to be allowed in all other cases.

But we left the prisoner on his knees, praying to be allowed the benefit of clergy; and having now explained what this meant, let us return to the court and see the trial concluded.

The court, you will have seen, could not but grant the prisoner's prayer; and having granted it, although in strictness his offence was capital, they at once sentenced him to be imprisoned twelve calendar months, and thus ended the trial. It was reserved for our own day to render all this learning obsolete; and an act passed in 1827 abolished the distinction between grand and petty larceny, which had existed for 1000 years or more, annihilated altogether the benefit of clergy, repealed a great number of statutes relating to this and other branches of the criminal law, and established in their stead a much improved mode of proceeding against and punishing offenders. For all this we should remember that we are indebted to the skill, energy, and ability of the late Sir Robert Peel, who conceived and carried out the change.

TRIAL BY BATTEL.

Having given on the testimony of an eyewitness a trial in which, although comparatively modern, a great part of the proceedings have already become obsolete, I will now take you to one which occurred a long time ago, in which both the mode of trial and everything connected with it, although formerly common, have fallen into complete desuetude, and are only preserved to us in the pages of Dugdale, and in a jargon not less uncouth than the story itself is strange.

At a session before the Justices in Eyre at Northampton, in the year 1330, Thomas Fitz Hugh de Stanton demanded against the prior of Our Lady at Lenton the advowson of the chapel of Herleton, as heir to his ancestor William, who had presented his clerk William de Grendon to the living in the time of the king's grandfather, and thereupon he offered to defend his right—(how, do my hearers think?) by the force of argument and facts? no; but by the argument of force, and the body of his freeman William Fitz John.

But the demandant and the tenant had each a serjeant-at-law, a barrister of some standing, to assist him. At a later time, when wigs became part of the forensic costume, the wigs of the serjeants were distinguished by a black patch in the centre, which was supposed to represent the coif or black cap once worn by the priests to hide the tonsure, after the law had forbidden them to appear as advocates in the secular courts. But the canons of St. Peter's, at Rome, who wear dark wigs, have a white patch in the centre of the crown, to imitate the tonsure; thus reversing the serjeants' rule. A countryman, sitting in the gallery of the court and noticing the black patches on the serjeants' heads, said he supposed it was to hide some complaint they had there. But now, alas! since 1877, the degree of serjeant is abolished, and serjeants are no more. Let us, however, return to our story. Upon producing the champion for Thomas, his serjeant took him by the arm, and then the latter, ungirt, barefooted, and barelegged, with the sleeves of his tunic turned back and his arms bare, held up a gauntlet in his right hand, with five pennies between his fingers.

The prior then denied the demandant's right and his ancestor's seisin, and offered to defend his own right by his freeman, William Fitz Thomas, then present, and ready to defend it by his body; and then the demandant's serjeant-at-law, who was his counsel, took his champion's arm as he stood at the bar, and did with it in like case as had been done with the other champion's arm. Afterwards, both the champions were ordered to come within the bar, and to approach the bench, and to stand one at one end of the table and the other at the opposite end, while the justices examined their feet to see that they were without shoes. (If this scene had been in Lancashire, the precaution might have been taken to avoid the suspicion of feet fighting.) The Chief Justice, who was probably Henry le Scrope, now demanded of the parties whether they knew of any misprision on the part of either champion, or if they had any objection to make to the person of either of them; and they answered "No." And then the Chief Justice, addressing the tenant's champion, said to him, "Give me the gauntlet"; whereupon the champion knelt down and gave it him, and the same was done with the other champion and his gauntlet. Then he shook the pennies out of the two gauntlets, and put those of the demandant into the tenant's gauntlet, and those of the tenant into the demandant's gauntlet. Afterwards, he demanded of the champions whether they were ready to do battle according as the parties had offered for them, and they answered that they were. We may suppose each of them adopting the language of Harry Bolingbroke on a similar but yet more solemn occasion—

> "For what I speak
> My body shall make good upon this earth,
> Or my divine soul answer it in heaven."

The Chief Justice then commanded each champion to offer the other his gauntlet, and each of them took the other's gauntlet. After which he bade them deliver the gauntlets to him, and then he restored to each champion his own. This we may suppose was done not only that the court but that each champion might be satisfied that the gauntlets were fair and lawful. It was also,

I suppose, a sort of symbolical throwing down of the gauntlet by one champion and its taking up by the other. The Chief Justice then demanded of the parties whether they knew any reason why the court should not make an award of battel, and upon their answering "no," he informed them that they must find pledges to abide the battel, and each party then found two. The Chief Justice then said, "The court hath heard how you have waged "battel on one side and the other, and how you have declared that "you know no reason why the battel should not be awarded, and "the court doth therefore award it. Be you therefore before us "on the second Monday in Lent, and have you at the same day "your champions arrayed for war ready to do battel according as "you have offered it." It was then ordered that no man of either party should have access to either of the champions in the meantime; and he charged each party to watch over his own champion, and to see that no one had access to him, on pain of such punishment as belongs thereto. All this, I suppose, was to prevent the champions being tampered with. The Chief Justice then ordered the tenant to lead his champion to some church, and the demandant to lead his to some other church, and that each in his respective church should offer the five pennies which were in the gauntlets in honour of the five wounds of Christ, in order that God might give the victory to him who had the right. The parties were then commanded to come at the appointed day, prepared to take an oath at the bar and another in the lists. Does not this carry the mind back to Ashby de la Zouch, and suggest to the memory its great tournament recorded in *Ivanhoe*? Upon the Saturday preceding the appointed Monday, the Chief Justice commanded the parties to bring their champions separately into a private place to shew their apparel; and first he caused the prior to come before him with his champion, and finding, on examination, that his apparel was of leather, he ordered it to be removed. This seems to be like the coat of proof which Cade was accused of wearing. Then he measured the baton and found it five quarters long, and pronounced it to be of the right length, though five quarters sounds rather like an odd mode of

measurement. He then examined the shield, which he found was an ell long and three quarters broad, which he held to be not more than the assise, though a man might, if he wished it, use a shield of less dimensions; and having afterwards examined the demandant's champion's in the like manner, he commanded both the tenant and the demandant to have their champions present on the appointed day. And upon such day the parties and their champions came to the bar with their shields borne before them, which were placed between them as they stood at the bar. Their two batons, which in like manner had been borne before them, were delivered to the court, and then the tenant by his counsel Shareskull thus spoke :—"My masters, you "have here the prior of Lenton with his man William Fitz Thomas "by name, arrayed for battle, and ready by heaven's grace to do "and perform all that the court of our lord the king doth or shall "award, and that he proffers against Thomas Fitz Hugh de "Stanton with his man William Fitz John;" and the demandant did the like, repeating the same words *mutatis mutandis*. Then the Chief Justice made the tenant's champion stand towards the north and the demandant's towards the south, and commanded the former to take the right hand of the latter in his left, and grasping it gently, without hurting or straining it, to place his own right hand upon the book, and to say as follows :— "Hear this, O man, whom I hold by the hand, William by name "of baptism, that Thomas de Stanton hath not any right to the "advowson of the church of Herleston, and that his ancestor "never was seised thereof, but the same was and is the right "of the prior, and hereto I swear." After which the demandant's champion took the same oath in the same form. The demandant's champion was then commanded to take the right hand of the tenant's champion in his left, and to put his own right hand on the book, and to say as follows :—"Hear this, O man, "whom I hold by the hand, William by name of baptism, thou "art perjured, and this is thy perjury: that the advowson of "Herleston is the right of Thomas Fitz Hugh de Stanton, and "was the right of his ancestor, so help me God and his saints."

The court now having chosen one of the batons delivered it to the tenant's champion and the other to the demandant's. Afterwards the Chief Justice demanded of the prior whom he wished to bear his champion's shield to the field, to which he answered, "He who bears it now." In like manner he asked him who should bear the baton, and the prior named for that purpose Sir Richard Maundeville, knight, who undertook to bear it, and to him it was forthwith delivered. Afterwards he asked in whose ward he wished the champion to be while they proceeded to the place, and he named a knight who undertook it, and the champion was given into his charge; and the like form, in all respects, was observed towards the demandant and his champion. Then the Chief Justice charged the champions that if, after they had entered into the battel, one of them should strike the other down, and have it in his power to slay him at the next blow, and then either tenant or demandant was minded to speak of peace, and should elevate his wand, and the court should thereupon order the champion to stay, he would at once stay and proceed no further without leave of the court, upon pain to forfeit life and members; and then straightway the knights who had charge of the champions had orders to conduct them safely to the place of combat.

But when they were come to the field, the tenant and the demandant came to an agreement; and coming before the justices, prayed for leave to be allowed to end the cause, and the prior paid a fine to the king, and thereupon leave was granted as prayed. Whereupon the Chief Justice, addressing the demandant, said,—"Thomas Fitz Hugh de Stanton, the court of our lord "the king having laboured very much this cause of yours, now "asks as a right that the champions do make display of their "powers with shields and batons;" "but without dealing real "blows," said Justice Croke, interposing. And "that they do "afterwards entertain us with a few falls of wrestling." The tenant's champion being placed towards the north, and the demandant's towards the south, they made an onset with shields

and batons, until the court cried out, "enough." After which they had two bouts of wrestling, and then they parted and took their leave, carrying with them the batons delivered to them by the court. After which the justices rose, the court broke up, and the business ended.

But if we imagine that the two champions who engaged in this quarrel agreed to wage mortal combat either out of loyalty or affection to the parties, or from an abstract love either of justice or of fighting, we shall be very much mistaken. They were hired like some foreign mercenaries and were to fight for pay. In or about 1260, John Coldingham gave three acres of land with a toft and a croft, which he himself had received for being a champion in one of these trials by battel. (*Athenæum*, Nov. 10, 1866, p. 609.)

### SCROPE AND GROSVENOR.

From proceedings which took place in the open air, upon a carpet of greensward, with a circle of nobles and others looking on as silent spectators, let us turn to a scene of a very different kind, which took place in-doors. Those who have had any experience know in which kind of court the air is purest. I was once present in an Irish court when counsel asked a medical witness what was the best way to cure a headache caught in a crowded court, and his ready answer was, "Why, to get out of it "as soon as you can."

In September, 1386, not more than half a century after the case we have just been considering, we find ourselves, after passing the portals of an Early English gateway, suddenly within the walls of a lofty church, with the light of an autumn sun streaming in mellow lustre through its storied windows of stained glass. Two rows of Early English piers, four-sided and moulded, on which rest a series of pointed arches, dividing the nave from the side aisles and enabling it to sustain its groined and vaulted roof, the joinings and intersections of which glow with the shields of arms of the Beauchamps, the Botelers, the Radcliffes, the Hollands,

the Fittons, and other ancient houses. Here and there upon the floor are carved effigies in wood or incised slabs of marble, representing warriors in plate and mail, and ecclesiastics in cope and chasuble. Passing into the chancel through its carved screen, we find ourselves before a tribunal with four seats erected on it. Where this tribunal was and who were to occupy it we shall see presently. In the above-named year, a trial between two knights was the occasion of great excitement all over England, but more especially in this and the adjoining county of Chester. In the three years during which it hung in strife, nearly everybody was arrayed on one side or the other, and in the halls and dwellings of the nobles, gentlemen, and yeomen it struck up as much heat as an important political or party question would do in our own day. More witnesses, and witnesses of more varied ranks and ages, were perhaps never examined in any other ancient case on record. One sovereign prince, one duke, three earls, three barons, three abbots, two priors, eleven bannerets, and nearly one hundred and fifty knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others were examined for one or other of the contending parties, and amongst these were Chaucer the poet and the celebrated Owen Glendower. A score or more of manors, one thinks, must have been disposed of to bear the expense of the witnesses and hearings, while evidence was given of events which happened in the fiery east, in the time of the crusades; on the plains of Gascony or Poictou, in the host of the Black Prince; or in other more quiet scenes at home or abroad. In such a cause, you are ready to exclaim, the subject matter in dispute must surely have been very great to justify such an expenditure of time and money and energy. The parties thought it of more value than the worth of half a province. And now we ask what you think it was? No longer laugh at the historian of Liliput and his war of the Big and Little Endians. This great cause was no less than to settle whether Sir Richard Scrope,—who, besides having been Lord Chancellor, had fought at Cresсy and other fields of arms, besides this fight before the Earl Marshall,—or Sir Robert Grosvenor had the best right to bear a

*shield azure* with a *bend or;* or, to put it in plainer English, had the best right to paint his shield *blue*, and to gild with gold the band going across it diagonally from right to left, to strengthen it.

In the times of which we are speaking, infringements of the law of arms were jealously watched, and gave rise to frequent controversies. Some of these were more easily settled than the great case with which we have to do. Among the Genoese, whom the French king hired to aid him in his war against England, was a gentleman who bore an ox head on his shield, for which he was challenged by a French nobleman, and they strove so long about it, that at length they must fight upon it. The French gallant came into the field armed at all points. The Genoese, all unarmed, also came and said, "Wherefore shall we this day fight." "Marry," said the Frenchman, "I will this day make good with "my body, that these arms were my ancestors' before thine." "What were your ancestors'?" quoth the Genoese. "An ox "head," said the Frenchman. "Then," said the Genoese, "we "need not fight, for this that I bear is a cow's head (Lower's *Surnames*, p. 50). When Robert de Morley's arms were challenged by Burnel at Calais, in 1346, he contented himself with bearing them for his life by permission, after judgment against him, and he surrendered his folded banner, by transmitting it on his death bed; which was certainly a most pathetic and picturesque conclusion.

The judges in this great cause were answerable to its importance, being no less than the lord high constable and earl marshal; with others especially commissioned by the king for that purpose. But now let us return to the court, with its tribunal of four seats, before which there are now a crowd of persons, drawn thither either by business, or interest, or curiosity; the effect of whose varied costumes of caps and cloaks and pointed shoes, heightened by the light falling upon them from the stained windows, which were of lancet shape, and filled with the emblazoned arms of Warren, De Montfort, Clare, De Burgh and Mortimer, the especial patrons of the Austin friars, in whose

house at Warrington we are, and where the assembled crowd is now waiting for the arrival of the judges.

These four persons having taken their seats, the pursuivant read aloud the commission, empowering Sir John le Boteler, baron of Warrington; Sir Nicholas le Vernon, Sir Thomas Gerard, knights; and Sir William Bromborough, rector of Aldford, near Chester, to take evidence in the great Scrope and Grosvenor cause. Proclamation was then made, calling on the parties to come forth and produce their witnesses; upon which Sir Robert Grosvenor came forward, but the plaintiff neither attended nor answered. The witnesses now examined were John de Massey, Nicholas de Rixton, Roger, the prior of Birkenhead, William de Rixton and Thomas le Vernoun; only one of whom, John de Massey, gave evidence of any material value. He swore that for twenty-six years he remembered the challenged shield being painted in its proper colours as the Grosvenor arms upon Bradley cross, which stood in the highway, between Knutsford and Warrington. The evidence of the several witnesses having been given, and having been taken down as they gave it, the further hearing of the cause was then adjourned to Lancaster castle. After being protracted for three years, sentence was at length given that Sir Richard le Scrope should bear the original arms, the shield *azure* with the *bend or*; and that Sir Robert le Grosvenor should bear the same arms with a *bordure argent.* This sentence not pleasing Sir Robert le Grosvenor, (as what sentence ever does please the losing party?) he appealed against it to the king; who, by his commissioners, reviewed the proceedings, and at length decided that the appellant should either use the said arms with a *bordure*, as in the sentence, or else, instead of the *bend or*, might bear a *garb or* from the arms of the ancient Earls of Chester, to whom, during the trial he had fully proved his consanguinity; and these latter arms, then adopted by Sir Robert le Grosvenor, have ever since been borne by the noble family at Eaton. In Richard the Second's time, when heraldry was in its zenith, these contests were common. Mascy, of Tatton,

and Mascy, of Puddington, had each such a contest. (*Hist. Ches.*, 308.)

APPEAL.

The Grosvenor incident in our local history may well serve to call our attention to another branch of ancient law known as the law of appeal, which has only become extinct in our own days. On the happening of the Bewsey tragedy, a story which has come down to us in the Harleian manuscripts, we learn that Lady Boteler pursued those that slew her husband, and indicted them; but being married to the Lord Grey, he made her suit void. In this passage, if we read appealed instead of indicted, the statement becomes intelligible; for a wife's second marriage, while it had no effect upon an indictment, would certainly make void her appeal against her husband's murderers. In the sense in which we are now to speak of it, an appeal does not mean a resort to a higher tribunal from the decision of a lower, in order to obtain a reversal of the judgment, which is the ordinary acceptation of the term, but it signifies a criminal prosecution by one private person against another, on account of some particular injury he has suffered, rather than for the offence against the public. The thing itself no doubt arose out of the Saxon practice of the weregild, in which an offender was allowed or held bound to make compensation to the party injured for any grievous offence committed. In the east, where the government is little concerned in the prosecution of offenders, it is for the next of kin to avenge the slaughter of his kinsman; and if they choose to compromise the matter, little more is said about it.

In England appeals were formerly permitted in treason, murder, rape, robbery, mayhem, and arson. In robbery, mayhem, and arson, the parties injured must be the appellants. In rape it might be brought either by the husband or the next of kin. In murder the appeal is given to the wife, on account of the loss of her husband; and therefore, if she marries again before or pending her appeal, the appeal is gone. But if there be no wife,

or she herself be implicated or suspected, the appeal devolves upon the next heir male of the murdered ancestor. In the case of murder it would seem as if the law of England made an exception to its well-known rule, that no man shall be tried or put in jeopardy twice for the same offence; for a man who had been tried and acquitted upon an indictment for murder, might certainly afterwards be appealed and tried upon an appeal for the same offence, and could not plead in bar that he had been acquitted on the indictment. Anciently it was permitted to any subject to appeal another of treason; for in the eye of the law, the king was supposed to be the father of his country, and every subject was supposed to have a filial interest in protecting and preserving him from treason and treasonable attempts.

We are all familiar with the beautiful opening scene of the play of Richard II, which turns upon such an appeal brought by Henry Bolingbroke against the Duke of Norfolk. The king is heard speaking thus :—

> "Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,
> Hast thou, according to thy oath and bond,
> Brought hither Henry Hereford, thy bold son,
> Here to make good the boisterous late appeal
> Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?"

To which John of Gaunt replies—"I have, my liege." And the king proceeds—

> "Tell me, moreover, has thou sounded him
> If he appeals the duke on ancient malice,
> Or worthily, as a good subject should,
> On some known ground of treachery in him?"

And afterwards the accuser and the accused are brought in to make the appeal in form; and a day is fixed for the trial to take place before the earl marshal, when those fatal consequences ensued which ended in displacing the monarch from his throne, and seating his once zealous champion there in his place. Remembering this, does it not seem a little singular that amongst the first acts of the usurper, after he was seated on the throne,

was that to obtain a statute professing to abolish, and which virtually did abolish, all appeals for treason?

In the trial of an appeal, instead of leaving the matter to be decided by a jury, the appellee, except against a widow bringing appeal for the murder of her husband and a few others, might demand a trial by battel,, duel, or single combat. This sort of trial was carried on with great solemnity, and in it the appellant and the appellee were required to fight in their own persons, and not by such hired champions as we saw in the case of the prior of Lenton. The form and manner of an appeal in felony are very solemn; for the appellee or party accused, when he pleads "not guilty," throws down his glove, and declares that he will defend his innocence with his body. The appellant or accuser, taking up the glove which has been so thrown down, replies that he accepts the gage, and is ready to make good his appeal body for body. The appellee thereupon taking the gospels in his right hand, and with his left holding the right hand of his antagonist, swears aloud the following oath:—"Hear this, thou man whom "I hold by the hand, by name of baptism John, that I, who call "myself by name of baptism Thomas, did not feloniously murder "thy father William by name, nor am I any way guilty of the "said felony, so help me God and his saints, and this I will "defend against thee by my body as this court shall award." To which the appellant, holding the gospels in his right, and in his left his adversary's right hand, replies as follows:—"Hear this, "O man whom I hold by the hand, who callest thyself Thomas "by name of baptism, that thou art falsely perjured, because "that thou feloniously didst murder my father William by name, "so help me God and his saints, and this I will prove against "thee by my body, as the court shall award."

The battle is then to be fought with the same weapons, the same solemnities, and the same oaths that we heard of in the case of the prior of Lenton. And if the appellee be so far vanquished that he cannot or will not fight any longer, he shall be judged to be hanged immediately, by which, as well as if he

were killed in the battle, Providence was deemed to have decided in favour of the truth, and the appellee's blood is, *ipso facto*, attainted. But if he kill the appellant, or can maintain the fight from sun rising until the stars appear in the evening, he shall be acquitted. So also, if the appellant become recreant, and pronounces the horrible word *craven*, he shall lose his title to be a liegeman and shall become infamous, while at the same time the appellee shall recover his damages and be for ever quit, not only of the appeal, but likewise of all indictments for the same offence.

In 20 and 21 Richard II, John Burbacke and John Halywell appear by the *Cheshire Records* to have been engaged in such an appeal at Chester. *(Ches. Records.)*

Whoever looks back into the history of the law, will find that this doctrine of appeals for murder was not a mere theory resting in black letter, but that instances of a resort to it were of very frequent occurrence, and that in some of these instances, either as the accused or as counsel, some very exalted individuals have been concerned.

In the year 1690, Spencer Cowper, an eminent counsel in practice at the bar, after having been tried and acquitted upon an indictment for the murder of Sarah Stout, was again tried for such murder upon an appeal brought by her heir-at-law. He was innocent of the crime; but it took all his own skill, and all the skill and learning of his still greater brother, William Cowper, the future Lord Chancellor, to establish the informality of the proceedings and to succeed in quashing the appeal before it came to an actual combat. In 1728 another appeal, in which William Lee, the future Lord Chief Justice, was counsel for the appellant, gave rise to one of his celebrated sayings. The learned counsel having strenuously and somewhat unscrupulously exerted himself to procure a conviction in an appeal of murder against Bambridge and Corbett, and not having succeeded in his object, was heard to say that in future he would have nothing to do with facts, but would thenceforth stick wholly to law!

But methinks I hear you ask why I take so much pains to

recall a practice which died with our ancestors and became extinct long ago. But what if I was myself at the funeral of some of these revolting forms which you think were buried so long ago? It is within my own knowledge that some of the humane ornaments of the English bench a few years ago, instead of listening to a war of words, had nearly been called upon to witness an actual battle waged before them at their bar, where they were to sit umpires of the strife.

In the year 1817, Mary Ashford, a country girl of some place in Warwickshire, was found drowned in a pit, and it seemed highly probable that she had not drowned herself, but had met her death by some foul play. Suspicion fell upon Abraham Thornton, her lover, in whose company she had been last seen, and he was tried upon an indictment and acquitted of the murder. But some further circumstances having afterwards come to light, William Ashford, the deceased's brother and heir, appealed Thornton of the murder. The appellee waged his battle and offered to fight it out, according to the law of appeal; and the appellant, in order to oust him of that mode of defence, pleaded specially the violent circumstances of suspicion existing in the case, to which Thornton replied other facts and the fact of his previous acquittal; and ultimately the Court of King's Bench held the appellant's plea to be insufficient, and ordered Thornton to be discharged. The narrow escape, however, which the court and the age had had from an awkward dilemma, now drew the attention of the legislature to this branch of the law, and the Act of 59 Geo. III, c. 46, was consequently passed, by which all appeals of murder, treason, felony, and other offences were at once and for ever abolished.

### A FEW POPULAR LAWS.

Hanging up in the Warrington Museum may be seen the picture of a withered female face wearing the brank, or scold's bridle, an instrument, made as inflexible as iron and skill can make it, for

holding an unruly tongue quiet. Such an instrument hangs beside the picture; and almost within the time of living memory Cicely Pusill, an inmate of the Warrington workhouse and a notorious scold, was seen wearing this brank for half an hour in the public streets of the town. One can hardly conceive a punishment more degrading to the offender, or one less calculated to refine the spectators, and yet it seems to have been common in every part of England; and there are very few manors in which a brank is not kept, to shew the rude manner in which our fathers curbed an unruly tongue. Cicely Pusill's case still lingers in tradition as the last occasion of the application of the brank in this neighbourhood, and its application will soon pass into history. In the meantime, let us hope that a Lancashire scold may become as rare as a Lancashire witch, of that old type which our ancestors burnt for witchcraft, and for which the Lancashire witches have had ample revenge by setting our hearts on fire ever since.

But, notwithstanding the universal use of the brank, it would puzzle a lawyer to find any mention of it in his books, and it would puzzle him still further to discover who was to judge of the necessity for applying it, or when, or by whom, or on whose authority it was to be put upon the offender. In our fathers' days, there were evidently more popular punishments than are recognised either in the text books or the statutes. I think it very probable that the keeping of the brank in old times devolved upon the constable, who seems to have been the executive factotum in the administration and application of the criminal law throughout England. Wherever there was no other officer to perform a duty, it was thrown upon the constable; and yet there is no officer with whom our satirists so often make merry. Our great bard, though he lays the scene in Messina, in Sicily, no doubt drew his Dogberry from some original whom he had seen in his own country. But the old constable, within our own day, has been supplanted by the county police; a far more intelligent class, who are, or should be, influenced less by the desire to punish crime, than by their vigilance to prevent it.

JOHN DOE AND RICHARD ROE.

As I began this paper with a high sheriff's state procession, I now end it by commemorating the funeral of two of the most ancient characters in the law, John Doe and Richard Roe. In mediæval times, it seems to have been the practice to trust no man's word. Every man in the decennary was bail for every other. A member was not returned to parliament, nor a juryman summoned, but he was required to put in sureties; and even monarchs were subjected to the same rule. A great king of France, in borrowing a volume, was obliged to deposit a considerable quantity of plate, and to find one of his nobles to join him as his surety for its safe return; and our own Henry V, before his voyage to France, which led to the victory of Agincourt, only raised the necessary funds by borrowing money on other security than his word; and the hostages given or taken on concluding a treaty of peace in old times were only a part of the same rule.

In our English courts of law, this species of distrust was particularly observable. In every suit at law, sureties were required from each of the parties, on the ostensible ground that if the plaintiff failed in his action, or the defendant in his defence, the sureties might answer for the consequences. From being general, this practice came to be used in every case, as well where it was really necessary as where it was not, until its universality made it degenerate into mere form, and the sureties or pledges into fictitious persons, who figured under the names of John Doe and Richard Roe, on nearly every occasion; and it grew into a maxim that in a fiction of law there is equity.

How strange it seems, that the most prosaic of all professions should thus be the most fruitful in fictions. Did the plaintiff in his action require sureties to be invoked, John Doe and Richard Roe came at his call; and were equally ready to answer the call of his adversary. From being at first used only as sureties, these fictions or shadows came at length to be plaintiffs and defendants

themselves; especially in actions of ejectment for land, which always proceeded upon the fiction that either John Doe or Richard Roe was concerned in unlawfully evicting the rightful owner. In time, John Doe and Richard Roe became the parents of two fruitful families, among which were John a Nokes and Richard Stiles, Peter Puretitle and Paul Notitle, Henry Hart and Peter Pert; besides the Hugh Hunts, and I know not how many others. As was natural, some of these fictitious persons have found their way into the pages of our poets, and amongst others into *Hudibras*; where the editor, Dr. Gray, gives some notes upon them. (Vol. II, pp. 155-6.)

Born under our English Justinian, Edward I, after having survived all the changes in the law which have happened between the Plantagenet times and our own, these legal Methuselahs might have still lived on, had not a recent statute taken away the old action of ejectment; and then, being unable to bear the demolition of this last legal prop of their house, they died. From the purlieus of Westminster hall, so long their home, they were removed to the opposite abbey; where the Westminster boys celebrated their obsequies in one of their dramas, and wrote, or might have written, this pæan over their graves—

> "All hail John Doe and Richard Roe for ever,
> Whom law united, not the grave shall sever."

## CONCLUSION.

And now, in conclusion, though we have still much to learn, and though like the Alderman of Beetlebury, and perhaps with no better reason, we are all fond of looking back with a lingering preference for old times, there are none of us, I think, who would seriously wish to have back the Saxon or the Norman age, when Wamba the Jester and Gurth the Swineherd—he who contributed to his master's mirth, and he who supplied his table—were slaves; who wore collars, like his hounds, to indicate their serfdom, and to tell their own and their master's names; and might be punished for disobeying laws which gave rights to their master

but nothing but wrongs to them. That the law is not retrograding must be evident, I think, from the view which we have been enabled to take of it, but its progress, like the advance of the pointer in the figure with which we set out, is so slow that we can only note it by observing it at somewhat wide intervals. Heaven, which designed that the progress should be onward, designed also that it should be slow, in order that the legislator might not glory in it as alone his work. Paul may plant and Apollos water, but the increase comes from above. In this, as in every work, it is for man to labour in hope, and to trust in Providence for the issue. Progress is certain, that we may hope and not despair; it is slow, that we may not presume.

# THE CLAYTONS, OF THELWALL AND SHEEPCROFT, CO. CHESTER; OF ST. DOMINICK'S ABBEY AND DONERAILE, CO. CORK; AND SUBSEQUENTLY OF MALLOW, CO. CORK.

*By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., &c.*

(Read 4th March, 1880.)

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SIR PETER LEYCESTER, in his *Antiquities of Bucklow Hundred*, after noticing the earlier history of Thelwall,* says :—

"This Township of *Thelwall* is of the Fee of the Honor of "*Halton:* one third part whereof *William Constable* of *Cheshire* "gave to the Abbey of *Salop, cum pertinentiis, in bosco, in plano,* "*in aqua. Monasticon, vol. I, pag. 383.*—In the Reign of *Henry* "the Third, *Edmund Lacy* Baron of *Halton* and Constable of "*Cheshire,* gave *Domino Galfrido de Dutton* (Ancestour to "*Warburton* of *Arley*) *totam terram suam de Thelwall cum Wera,* "*& Piscaria, & Stallagiis suis:* and also all the Land which he "had of the Abbot and Convent of *Evesham,* in *Thelwall:* "*Reddendo inde annuatim unam Par Cheirothecarum Cervi* "*Furratarum*† *ad Festum Sancti Michaelis pro omni Servitio.*

* Thelwall is a township, in Bucklow Hundred, co. Chester, about four miles south-east of Warrington, and is reached by the low-level line of the L. & N. W. Railway Co., between Liverpool and Stockport, formerly known as the Warrington and Stockport Railway.

† See the Inquisitions post-mortem of Hugh de Clayton, of Thelwall, 1438, and Randle Clayton, 1562.

"*Lib. C. in ipso initio, fol. 1 f.* This could be but two third "parts of *Thelwall.* The original of this Deed is now in "possession of Mr. *Pickering* of *Thelwall*, 1666. This *Geffrey* "*Dutton* gave these Lands to *Thomas* his younger son.* "*Ibidem, g.*"

THOMAS the younger son of *Geoffrey de Dutton* had a son and heir HUGH DE DUTTON,† who died in or about the year 1295, possessed of considerable property, including lands in Thelwall and a Warp in the water of Mersey, his son and heir HUGH DE DUTTON being aged 16 years on the 8th December, 1294.‡

The next possessor of Thelwall seems to have been *Randal* or *Ralph*, son of *Adam de Clayton.*§ In all probability he became possessed of the property by his own or his father's marriage with the heiress of one of the two Hughs de Dutton named above, but a careful search among the documents in the Record Office in order to decide this point has proved unavailing. The Duttons bore for arms *quarterly argent and gules, in the first and fourth quarters a fret or;* and the fact that the son of Radulf de Clayton bore the same arms, placing *a mullet in the first and fourth quarters* for difference,‖ coupled with the fact that he was named Hugh makes the probability of his descent from a Dutton heiress almost a certainty.

RADULF, or RALPH, de CLAYTON, son of Adam de Clayton,¶ on 20 July 1304 demised his lands in Thelwall and Bollington to the lord Peter de Dutton for seven years, the witnesses to this deed were: The lords Wm. Trussel, justice of Chester, and Hamon de Massy, knights, Hugh de Dutton, Wm. Danyers, Gilb. de Lymme, Hen. le Norrays, Roger de Aston, Roger Venator, and Robert his brother.** He was one of the witnesses to a Thelwall deed, in January, 1336,†† and he and his wife ALICE are mentioned in Plea Rolls in 1295 and 1308; in the latter year

* This grant is now among the charters at Arley Hall. Mr. Beamont assigns the date 1258 (about) to it.

† Ormerod. ‡ Inq. p.m.

§ Plea Rolls, and deeds printed in the Addenda to this paper.

‖ Seal of Hugh de Clayton, appended to a charter dated 1372.

¶ Adam de Clayton is said by Ormerod to have been one of the Lancashire Claytons.

** Arley Charters. †† *Ibid.*

Adam de Clayton and Isabel his wife are also mentioned.* This ALICE was the daughter and heiress of Sir *Geoffrey de Chedle*, and brought a moiety of Bollington to her husband.† By her he had a son Henry, the father of John, whose son Henry, 21 Edw. III, was father of Thomas de Clayton, whose daughter and heir, Ellen, became the wife of Henry de Radcliffe.‡

Radulf de Clayton seems to have had, possibly by BEATRIX, daughter of *Adam de Kinkenhall* [of Kinknall Hall, near Kenyon, co. Lanc. ?] another wife,§ a son named

HUGH DE CLAYTON, of Thelwall, of whom we have but little information, though his armorial seal, a cast of which was given to the Warrington Museum by Mr. Beamont, and is still preserved there, distinctly shows the armorial bearings referred to above. The seal is appended to a charter dated 46 Edw. III. [1372.] In 1360 as "Hugh "Clayton de Thelewall" he is one of the witnesses to a deed of William de Thelwall, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. R. H. Wood, F.S.A.‖ In 1362 he is a witness to a deed of John de Appleton (Arley Charters). In 1382 he is a party to a settlement of the Culcheth family.¶ He was dead in 1385-6 when, by a Plea Roll, it appears that ELLEN late wife of Hugh de Clayton is at variance with John son of Hugh de Clayton in reference to her dower of 30 messuages, 1 mill, 80 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 40 acres of wood, 10 acres of turbary, and 300 acres of pasture in Hatton near Appleton, Thelwall, Over Walton, Hull and Grappenhall.**

Seal of Hugh de Clayton.

* Ormerod, New Edit. In the present paper it is not intended to follow the history of this branch of the Claytons.

† *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

§ In 2 Edw. II [1308-9], Radulf son of Adam de Clayton obtained against Adam de Clayton and Isabella his wife 17 messuages, 6 bovates, 24 acres of land, 10 acres of moor and the sixth part of a watermill in Thelwall; to have to him and his heirs by Beatrix, daughter of John de Kinkenhall, paying to Adam and Isabella 20 marks yearly. [MS. notes from Chester Records. P.R.O. Round room, Q. shelf 7.]

‖ Ormerod, New Edition.

¶ *Leigh Chronicle*, Hist. and Gen. Notes, I, 73.

** Ormerod, New Edition.

JOHN DE CLAYTON, of Thelwall, son of Hugh, was born in the year 1354. (Proof of Age of Alice wife of Edmund de Trafford, 1414.) In 1397-8 he was outlawed for felony, but in 1402 he was one of the collectors of a subsidy in Bucklow Hundred.* The annexed woodcut of his seal, used in the year 1372, is from a cast in the Warrington Museum. As "John de Clayton" he witnesses a deed of Adam del Shagh, at Grappenhall, in 1402, and he was living in 1414.†

Seal of John de Clayton.

HUGH DE CLAYTON, esquire, so styled as one of the witnesses to a deed of settlement of the Middlehurst family, dated at Latchford, 12 January, 16 Hen. VI [1437-8], the original of which is in the possession of Mr. Beamont; "Radulf de "Clayton" is also a witness to the same deed. Hugh died on Sunday, the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, [29 June], 1438, and by his inquisition post mortem it was found that John de Clayton his son and heir was one year old on the 2nd February, 1437-8. About this time (1 Hen. IV, 1400), *William Clayton* of Thelwall appears among the Cheshire men excepted in the general act of pardon by Henry the Fourth, on account of their adherence to Richard the Second.‡

JOHN CLAYTON, of Thelwall, son of Hugh de Clayton, was born 2 February, 1436-7. His name is the first in the recorded pedigree,§ and it is there stated that he married a natural daughter of *Sir Geoffrey Warburton*, of Arley, knt., by whom he had two children :—

*Thomas Clayton* (described below.)

*Katherine*, married to *William Allen*, of Brindley Hall, co. Chester.‖

THOMAS CLAYTON, of Thelwall, who in 1522-3 had a lawsuit with Richard Thomasson, bailiff to the Abbot of Shrewsbury, with reference to certain fisheries in the river Mersey,¶ married

* Ormerod, New Edition. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Chronicles of Thelwall*, by Mr. James Nicholson, F.S.A., 1843.
§ Massie MS. and Visit. of Cheshire, 1566.
‖ Chron. of Thelwall. ¶ Duchy Pleadings.

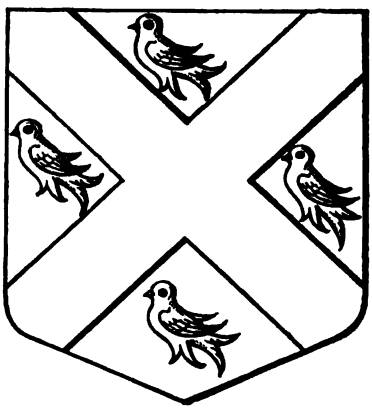
ELIZABETH, MAUDE, or MARGARET, the natural daughter of *George Savage*, priest of Davenham, who was a natural son of Sir John Savage, K.G.* Mrs. Clayton's mother was the "daughter "of one Dyes of Barrow in Cheshire," and was half-sister to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London,† another of the seven natural children of George Savage, who in one pedigree is called "of Bradley," and in another (1566) "younger brother of Sir "John Savage of Bradley." By his wife Thomas Clayton had issue :—

*Randal Clayton* (described below.)

*Margaret*, married to *Thomas Venables* of Antrobus, and had issue Peter Venables son and heir, Robert, Emma, and Margaret, all apparently living in 1566.‡

RANDAL CLAYTON, of Thelwall, gent., died 24 March, 2 Eliz. [1559-60.] In 31 Hen. VIII, [1539-40] he and John Clayton, gent., were jurors on the inq. p. m. of Edward Acton of Alderley. In 36 Hen. VIII [1544-5] he, ELLEN his wife, John his son and heir apparent, and John Crosley, clerk, suffered a fine of messuages, &c. in Statham and Thelwall. He married ELLEN, daughter and co-heiress of *Nicholas Page* of Statham, co. Chester, by whom he had issue :—

JOHN CLAYTON, of Thelwall, gent., aged 50 years in 1562, living in 1566, married MAUDE, daughter and co-heiress of *Piers Grimsditch*, of Grappenhall and Sheepcroft, co. Chester. She was buried at Grappenhall, 28 January, 1589-90, having had issue :—



Arms of Clayton, 1566.

1. *John Clayton*, (described below.)

2. *Thomas*, buried at Grappenhall as "Thomas son of John Clayton gent." 21 April, 1596.

* Massie MS. † *Ibid.* ‡ Visitation.

3. *William Clayton*, buried at Grappenhall as "William Clayton "of Thelwall householder," 30 Oct., 1633, having had issue :— 1. William, bapt. at Grappenhall, 20 July, 1606, bur. there 8 April, 1608. 2. Thomas, bapt. at Grappenhall, 22 Jany., 1608-9, and a daughter Ellen, bapt. at Grappenhall, 21 Jany., 1603.

4. *Peter Clayton*, of Thelwall, gent., buried at Grappenhall 11 July, 1613, married Elizabeth ....., buried at Grappenhall as " Elizabeth Cleaton de Thelwale *vid.* late wieff of Peter Cleaton "gent." 11 Feb., 1622-3. They had : 1. John, bapt. at Grappenhall, 2 May, 1577, bur. there 4 Nov., 1596. 2. William, bur. there 12 Sept., 1596.

1. *Juliana*, married to *John Warburton*, of Broomfield in Appleton, co. Chester, gent. He was buried at Grappenhall, 9 July, 1625.

2. *Elizabeth.*

3. *Ellen.*

JOHN CLAYTON, of Thelwall and Sheepcroft, gent. On 14 February, 33 Henry VIII. [1542-3,] he had a grant from the king of lands in Thelwall, formerly belonging to the dissolved monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, Salop. He sold his estates in Thelwall to Richard Brooke, of Norton, and afterwards resided on his estate at Sheepcroft. He was buried at Grappenhall, 21 Nov., 1597, as "John Clayton of Sheepcroft, gent." His wife ..... daughter of *James Clive*, of Huxley, co. Chester, was buried at Grappenhall, 4 May, 1632, as " Mris Cleaton of " Sheepcroft, *vid.*" Their children were :—

1. SIR RANDAL CLAYTON, of St. Dominick's Abbey, co. Cork, knight ; bapt. at Grappenhall as " Randall son of John Clayton "of Thelwall gent. 8 Oct. 1577." Will dated 11 March, 1637, and proved at Cork, 1638. Died 13 March, 1637. Buried at St. Finbarrye's Cathedral Church, near Cork.* He married ANNE, daughter of *Paul Herring*, of the city of Exeter, gent. Her will was proved 1638.† The following is from the Chapter

* Funeral Certificate.

† In her will she mentions her brothers Henry and Michael Herring, and her nephews and nieces Randal, John, Elizabeth, and Alice Clayton.

Book of the Cathedral of St. Fin Barrey, Cork, Vol. 1, 1638:— "The Dean and Chapter announces that Sir Randolph Clayton, "knt., by his last will bequeathed to the Dean, &c., the expenses "necessary for adorning the Altar or table of the Holy Supper, "with certain ornaments which were wanting, and to execute "other necessary matters." (Dr. Caulfield's letter, 14 Feb., 1876.) Sir Randal left no surviving issue.*

2. *Lawrence Clayton* (described below.)

3. *John Clayton*, of Doneraile, co. Cork, gent., died 1 July, 1637, and was buried at the parish church of Doneraile†; married ELIZABETH, daughter of *William Salter*, of London, gent., by whom he had issue:—1. Randal, 2. William, 3. John, 4. Lawrence; 1. Anne, 2. Elizabeth, 3. Katherine, (all died young and unmarried,) 4. Elizabeth, 5. Mary, (both living 1637,) 6. Dorothy, (died young and unmarried,) 7. Jane, 8, Alice, 9. Anne, (living in 1637.)

1. *Katherine*, married to *Thomas Daunt*, of Owlepen, co. Gloucester, and Gortgrenane, co. Cork. He died‡ 1670, leaving a daughter Katherine Daunt. married to Sir Peter Courthorpe, M.P.

LAWRENCE CLAYTON, of Moyallow [Mallow], co. Cork, esquire, Clerk of the council of the province of Munster. Will dated 15 July, 1635, proved 1635. Buried at Moyallow. Married ALICE, daughter of *Luke Brady*, of Tomgreny, co. Clare, esquire, who survived him, and by whom he had issue:—

1. *Randal Clayton* (described below.)

2. *John Clayton* [?married Elizabeth, and is mentioned with her in his brother Randal's will.]

1. *Elizabeth.*

2. *Alice*, married about 1653 to Sir *St. John Brodrick*, of Midleton, co. Cork, knt. He was born 3 Dec., 1627, and was buried at Wandsworth, co. Surrey, 23 January, 1711. She was buried there 21 April, 1696.

3. *Katherine.*

RANDAL CLAYTON, of Moyallow, co. Cork, esq., a colonel in

* See Appendix, page 46. † Funeral Certificate.
‡ Registered Pedigrees, Ulster's Office, Vol. VII, p. 33.

the army, who for his services had a grant of lands in co. Cork. Died 1684. Will dated 4 June, 1674, proved 1689.* Married firstly, February, 1653, JUDITH, daughter of Sir *Philip Perceval*, knt., and sister of Sir John Perceval, bart., ancestor of the earls of Egmont. Anderson's *House of Yvery*, vol. 2, page 327, says:—"This young lady, having refused many matches of great "dignity and advantage, passionately engaged her affections upon "Colonel Randolph Clayton of Mallow, a gentleman of great "merit, but a fortune not thought suitable to her, and was married "to him, against the inclination of her friends and relations, in "Feb., 1653."

Colonel Clayton married, secondly, DOROTHY, widow of *Robert Gooker*, esq., by whom she had had three children:—1. Robert Gooker, 2. Anne, 3. Mary; she does not appear to have had issue by her second husband.

By his first wife, Colonel Clayton had:—

1. *Lawrence Clayton* (described below.)

1. *Judith.*

2. *Margaret*, will dated 13 May, 1689, proved 10 Dec., 1696.†

3. *Mary*, married to *Adam Purdon*, third son of Sir Nicholas Purdon, M.P.

4. *Dorothy*, married to *James Waller*, esq., M.P., Lieutenant-Governor of Kinsale, son of Sir Hardress Waller, and brother of Elizabeth, Baroness Shelbourne.

5. *Martha.*

LAURENCE CLAYTON, of Moyallow, co. Cork, esq., a major in the army. Will dated 31 May, 1704, proved 2 February, 1712-13.‡ Married firstly, KATHERINE, fifth daughter of Sir *Henry Tynte*, of Ballycrenane, co. Cork, knt.,§ by Mabella, his wife, daughter of Sir Piercy Smith, of Ballynetra, co. Waterford, knt. Major Clayton had by his first wife one son, who died in infancy. He married secondly, ANNE, fourth daughter and co-

* Mentions his brother Peter Bottesworth, Esq.

† Mentions her uncle Peter Bottesworth, her brother Lawrence, and her sisters Mary, Dorothy, and Martha.

‡ In his will he speaks of his brothers Augustin Goskin, Esq., and Alan Brodrick, Esq., and of his nephew Henry Purdon.

§ Arms of Tynte:—Gules, a lion couchant guardant, between 6 cross croslets, 3 in chief and 3 in base Argent. (Funeral Entries.)

heiress of Sir *Peter Courthorpe*, of Little Island, co. Cork, and sister to the Viscountess Midleton. By his second wife, Major Clayton had issue :—

1. *Randal Clayton*, who died without issue in 1729.
2. *Courthorpe Clayton*, described below.
3. *John Clayton*, career unknown.

COURTHORPE CLAYTON, of Moyallow, esquire, M.P. for Moyallow and also for Eye, co. Suffolk. First equerry and clerk marshall to George II, and a colonel in the Grenadier Guards. Describing himself of St. Mary le Bow, co. Middlesex, made his will 9 Feb., 1762 : proved 6 August, 1762. Died 22 March, 1762. By his wife THEODOSIA he had a daughter and sole heiress :—

ANNE CLAYTON, married to ARTHUR GETHIN, eldest son of Randolph Gethin, (son of Sir Richard Gethin, bart., by Mary, daughter of Colonel John St. Leger), and Mary his wife, only daughter of Arthur Chichester, first Earl of Donegal. They had issue :—

RICHARD GETHIN, a captain in the army, killed in America in 1759, and MARY GETHIN, sister and heiress, married to MICHAEL CREAGH, esq., of Laurentinum, co. Cork ;—for an account of whose family and descendants see Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

Before closing this paper, I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, and to express my indebtedness to him for the unreserved manner in which he allowed me to examine the records preserved in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, and to make extracts from them. I have also to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. James Nicholson, F.S.A., Mr. Beamont, Dr. Caulfield, F.S.A., Mr. C. T. Gatty, F.S.A., Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. George Vere Benson, of Dublin.

Much interesting information relating to Thelwall, not to be found elsewhere, is contained in Mr. Nicholson's "Chronicles of "Thelwall," printed in the first volume of the *Topographer and Genealogist*, edited by the late Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.

# Appendix.

## NOTES IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE CLAYTON PEDIGREE.

### Cheshire Inquisitions.

(16 Henry VI, No. 15.)

HUGH DE CLAYTON.

Inquisition taken at Crowton, near Weverham, co. Chester, before John de Legh, del Rigge, Escheator, on Monday the Eve of the App. Simon and Jude, 17 Hen. 6 [27 Oct. 1438].

*Hugh de Clayton* died seized in his demesne as of fee of 7 messuages, 200 acres of land, and 8 acres of meadow with the appurtenances in Thellewall, which are held of the King, as of his lordship of Halton in socage and by rent of a pair of gloves of furred buckskin* yearly at Michaelmas, as appears by a charter shown to the Jurors in evidence.

He died on Sunday the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul last [29 June 1438]; and *John de Clayton*, his son and next heir, was aged one year on the Feast of Purif. B. V. M. last [2 Feb. 1437-8].

Writ dated at Chester 12 Aug. 16 Hen. 6.

(4 Elizabeth No. 1.)

RANDLE CLAYTON, ESQUIRE.

Inquisition taken 5 June 4 Eliz. [1562] at Northwich, co. Chester, before John Cotton Esq., Escheator after the death of *Randle (Ranulphi) Clayton, Esq.*, by the oath of certain jurors who say that *Randle Clayton* died seised in his demesne as of fee of 7 messuages, 200 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, 10 acres of moor, and a fishery in Thelwall, which are held of the Queen, as of her Manor of Halton, in socage, viz. by fealty and a pair of gloves of

* Cervi furratarum.

furred buckskin* yearly at Michaelmas ; and they are worth per annum (clear) £10. He was also seised in fee of 7 messuages and 100 acres of land in Overwalton, held of John Daniell of Deresbury, Esq. (under age and the King's ward) by knight's service, viz. by [blank] part of a knight's fee ; and they are worth per annum (clear) £5. He was also seised in fee of:—a messuage, 40 acres of land, 2 acres of moss called Hurst in Apleton (held of John Werberton knt. in socage and worth per annum (clear) 20*s.*) ; a messuage, 26 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, 4 acres of moor, 2 acres of moss in Hatton (held of John Werberton, knt. by the 5th part of a 10th part of a knight's fee and worth per annum (clear) 40*s.*) ; a close, containing 6 acres of pasture in Acton (held of the Queen as Countess of Chester by knight's service, part of fee not known, and worth per annum (clear) 4*s.*)

*Randle Clayton* died 24 March, 2 Eliz. [1559-60] ; and *John Clayton*, his son and heir, is 50 years old and more.

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## Extracts from the Records in the Office of Ulster King of Arms.

### FUNERAL ENTRIES, VOL. VI. PAGE 274.

Lawrenc Clayton of Myalloe in the County of Corke Esquire and Clarke of the Councell of the Province of Mounster. Hee was the second sonne of John Clayton of Shepcrott and second brother of Sr Randall Clayton Knight. Hee the said Laurence departed this mortall life at Myallow aforesaid the of and was interred in the said Towne of Myallow. He tooke to wife Alce daughter of Luke Brady of Tomgreny in the County of Clare, Esqr by whome hee had issue two sonnes and three daughters vidz Randoll, John, Elizabeth, Alce, and Katherin. The trueth of the premisses by the subscription of the said Alce the Relict of the said Laurence whoe hath returned this Certificat to be recorded in the Office of Vluester King of Armes. Taken this Last of Aprill 1636.

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### FUNERAL ENTRIES, VOL. VII, PAGE 211.

*An escocheon per pale, the sinister side blank, the dexter Argent a saltire between four martlets Gules.*

John Clayton of Doneraile in the County of Cork gent. third sonne of John Clayton of Thelwall in the County of Cheshire in the Kingdome of England gent. The said first mentioned John Clayton tooke to wife Elizabeth daughter of William Salter of London gent. by whom hee had issue 4 sonnes and 9 daughters vizt Randall eldest sonne William 2d sonne John third sonne and

* Unam pariam cirotecarum de pelle cervi furratarum.

Laurence 4th sonne died all young and unmarried. Anne eldest daughter Elizabeth 2d Katherin 3d wch three died young and vnmarried. Elizabeth 4th Mary 5th yett living, Dorothy 6th died alsoe young and unmarried Jane 7th Alice 8th & Anne 9th daughters coheires & and as yett all young and unmarried. The said first mentioned John departed this mortall life the first of July Anno 1637 in the said County of Cork & was interred in the Parish Church of Downeraile aforesaid. The truth of the premisse is testified by the subscription of Thomas Daunt of the County aforesaid Esqr whoe hath returned this Certificat into my office to be there recorded. Taken by me Thomas Preston Esqr Vluester King of Armes the . . . .

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## FUNERAL ENTRIES, VOL. VII. PAGE 272.

Sr Randall Clayton of St. Dominick's neere Corke Knight eldest sonne of John Clayton of Thelwall in the County of Cheshire in England gent. The said first mentioned Sr Randall Clayton tooke to wife Anne daughter of Paul Herring of the Citty of Excester in the Realme of England gent' by whome hee had no issue. The said first mentioned Sir Randall Clayton departed this mortall life the Thirteenth day of March 1637 in the County of Corke aforesaid & was interred in the Cathedral Church of St. Finbarryes neere Corke aforesaid. The truth of the premisses is testified by the subscription of Dame Anne Clayton Relict and Executrix of the said Defunct whoe hath returned this Certificat into my Office to be there recorded. Taken by me Thomas Preston Esqr Uluester king of Armes the second day of April 1638.

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## FUNERAL ENTRIES, VOL. XII, PAGES 117 & 147.

[*Part of pedigree made from information there given.*]

Sr Henry Tynt of Ballycrenane in ye County of Corke Kt. = Mabella dau : of Sr Piercy Smith of Ballynetra in co : Waterford, Kt.

- Henry Tynt, Esqr.
- Laurence Clayton, of Moyalloe, co. Cork, Esq. = Katherine 5th daughter
  - One son died in infancy.

Arms of Tynt : Gules a lion couchant guardant between six cross-croslets three in chief and three in base argent.

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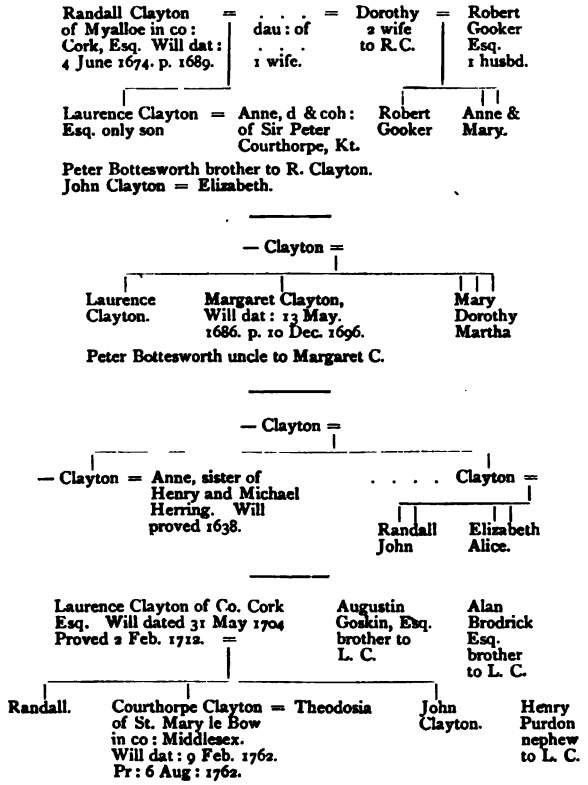
## REGISTERED PEDIGREES, VOL. VII. PAGE 33.

Thomas Daunt of Owlepen, co : Gloucester, Esq. who died 1670. = Katherine, daur. of John Clayton of ——— in the County of Chester.

Arms of Clayton : Argent a saltire between four martlets Gules.

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM'S MSS.




## Was Alice (wife of Sir St. John Brodrick) the daughter of Sir Randal Clayton or of his brother Laurence Clayton?

In the Brodrick pedigree printed in Dr. Jackson Howard's *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, quarterly series, Vol. I. page 364, it is stated that :—

> Sir St. John Brodrick of Midleton, co: Cork, Knt. (4th son of Sir Tho: B. of Wandsworth, co. Surrey, Knt.) Born 3 Dec: 1627. Buried 23 Jany: 1711, at Wandsworth. = Alice, daughter of Randall Clayton, of Thelwall, co: Chester. Buried 21 April. 1696. at Wandsworth. (Her eldest son born 4 August. 1654.)

and this statement agrees, not only with Lodge's and other peerages, but also

with "a pedigree entered in the Heralds' College, shortly before 1680, appa-"rently by Sir Alan Brodrick, elder brother of Sir St. John Brodrick." (The Hon. W. St. John Brodrick, in a letter to Mr. C. T. Gatty, dated 21 Jan., 1880.)

This is certainly incorrect in some of its details, for John Clayton, father of Sir Randal, had sold Thelwall (retaining his Sheepcroft estate) before his death, which took place in Nov. 1597 (when Randal was 20 years of age) and therefore Sir Randal was never "of Thelwall." John Clayton's widow survived until 1632, and was buried at Grappenhall as "Mris Cleaton of "Sheepcroft vid."

There are the following additional reasons for supposing Alice, Lady Brodrick, to have been the daughter of Lawrence Clayton, and not of Sir Randal:—

I. In the Funeral Certificate of Sir Randal Clayton, taken by Thomas Preston, *Ulster*, in 1638, it is distinctly stated that he "tooke to wife Anne "daughter of Paul Herring of the Citty of Excester &c. gent. *by whome he* "*had no issue.*" The same Anne testifies to the correctness of the certificate, and there is not any mention of a former wife.

II. Sir Randal, in his will, dated 1637, and proved at Cork in 1638, names his deceased brother Lawrence, and Lawrence's sons Randal and John and daughter Elizabeth. He also mentions his own wife Anne, *his niece Alice Clayton*, his sister Daunt, his [wife's?] sister Astronica Bennett, and his brother-in-law Thomas Daunt, of Gortgrenane, Esq., *but he does not mention any child of his own.* (Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A., in a letter to Mr. James Nicholson, F.S.A., dated 14 February, 1876.)

III. Lawrence Clayton, in his will, dated 15 July, 1635, and proved in the same year, mentions his two brothers Sir Randal and John, his wife Alice, his children Randal, John, Elizabeth, Katherine, and *Alice.* Of her he says, "I leave *my daughter Alice* to wayte upon her mother who I know will "provide for her the best she can, and I give the residue of the moneys due "to me on the Lord Roche his deeds upon.....unto my daughter Alice."

IV. The Hon. Mr. Brodrick says:—"There are three letters in the Brod-"rick MSS. purporting to be written by Lawrence Clayton (signed L. C.) "between 1679 and 1683. One of these is addressed to Alan Brodrick "[Alice, Lady Brodrick's son] afterwards first Viscount Midleton, the two "others to his younger brother St. John Brodrick, afterwards Serjeant at Law. "They are dated from Cork, and one refers to 'my uncle Brodrick,' from the "context then resident at Wandsworth. This can only refer to Sir St. John "Brodrick, who would seem to have married the *aunt* of the Lawrence "Clayton who corresponds with his sons. If Lawrence Clayton, the pre-"sumed father of Alice, Lady Brodrick, had a *grandson* Lawrence Clayton, "the facts would all agree." These letters were evidently written by Lawrence's *grandson* and Alice's *nephew*, Major Lawrence Clayton of Moyallow,

whose will, dated 1704, was proved in 1712. Had Alice, Lady Brodrick, been the daughter of Sir Randal, she would have been, not aunt to Major Clayton the writer of these letters, but first cousin once removed.

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## Mr. Clayton's Deeds.

Although the whole of the following deeds do not relate to the Clayton pedigree, I have thought them worth including here, as most of them have not before been printed.

HARLEIAN MS. 139, FO. 58.

[*Bostoke's collections.*]

These copies followinge I had of Mr. John Clayton of Thelwall, owt of his evidences, the 12 of January, Ao. 1592, written in the house of Mr. William Marbury of Marbury.

[*Translations by Mr. Beamont.*]

I. To all &c *Robert de Thelwell le Venour* sends greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I have granted and quitclaimed to the lord *Geoffrey de Dutton* his heirs and assigns to have and make all manner of advantage of all the waste in Thelwell as well in the lands cleared as in those fresh or uncleared &c. These being witnesses: The lord *Henry de Turebuk* then seneschal of *Edmund de Lascy*, the lord *Thomas de Dutton*, *Roger de Tofte*, *Hugh de Lymme*, *Thomas* his brother, *Matthew de Derisburi*, *Aytrop de Mulneton*, *Richard de Hermitage*, clerk, *Roger* then clerk and others.

*A great seale hanging at the same of past[e] the print of a falkon in the same siegant and a writing about the same wche I cannot discerne.*

II. To all the faithful in Christ &c *Edmund de Lascy* sends greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I have given and granted &c to the lord *Geoffrey de Dutton* his heirs and assigns all my land of Thelewalle with the weir the fisheries and their stallage and I have given to the same *Geoffrey* his heirs and assigns all the land which I had of the *Abbot and Convent of Evesham* in the same town of Thelwall with all their appurtenances. To have and to hold to himself, his heirs and assigns by homage and service of me and my heirs freely entirely well and in peace, in ways in paths in woods in plains, in waters, in marshes, in mills pools assarts and pastures and in all other advantages to the aforesaid land belonging for ever. Rendering thence yearly to me and my heirs one pair of buckskin gloves at the feast of St. Michael for all secular service and exactions. Clause of warranty. Saving to me and my heirs the same rights of buying fish at the said fishery as I and my ancestors have had. Sealed &c these being witnesses: The lords *Robert de Orveny*,

*Walter de Londham(?) Osbert* parson of Silkston, *Henry de Torboc, William de Rya, John de Hoderode, Thomas de Dutton, Hugh de Limme, Richard de Aston, William de Waleton, Robert de Hoel,* clerk, and others.

*Sealed wt a great broad seale in grene wax appendant, the print thereof (because the uppermost is fallen off) I cannot discerne but on the backside is p'nted tharmes of the Earle of Chester wt a writing about the same.*

III. Know all men &c that I *Peter de Dutton*, knight, have given &c to *Simon del Hurst* one place of land lying "in the moore of Schepiscroft" as it is marked out between the land of *William de Denthalic** in the vill of Hull on the one part and the land of the said *Simon* on the other part in the territory of Hull. These being witnesses: *Roger de Leycester, John de Merbury, John de Ringstede, Randle de Merbury, William de Hatton* and others.

*Sealed wt a Sarasins head in grene wax wt this writing* SIGILLU' GALFRID' DE DUTTON.

IV. Know all men present and to come that I *William de Hatton* have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to *Simon de Hurst* and his heirs one acre and a half of land and one selion and a half in the town of Hatton namely one acre lying in "middil blacsti" and half an acre lying next "fouriland" and one selion which *Agnes* daughter of *Robert* formerly held and half a selion which *Adam* son of *Gene* formerly held. To have and to hold to the said Simon and his heirs of the chief lord of that fee by the service thence due and accustomed freely quietly well and in peace with all commons liberties and easements in the aforesaid town of Hatton thereto belonging. And I the said *William de Hatton* and my heirs all the aforesaid land with its appurtenances as aforesaid to the said *Simon* and his heirs against all persons will warrant and for ever acquit and defend. In witness whereof to this present writing I have affixed my seal. These being witnesses: *Henry le Norreys, Richard de Aston, William de Merthayt, William de Hull, Hugh de Norcote* and many others.

*Sealed with grene waxe appendent wt the print of a holy lambe printed in the same wth this writing* ECCE AGNUS DEI.

V. Know all men present and to come that I *Adam* son of *William de Hatton* have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to *Simon* son of *William de Hurst* three places of land in the territory of Hatton with their appurtenances, that is to say, one place lying in Radeshawe moor and upon the heath between the land of *Adam* son of *Adam de Newton* and the land of *Hugh de Grimisdiche* on the one part and the land of *Richard* son of *Richard de Hallum.* A second place lying between the land of *Simon de Hurst* and the way which leads near Derisberi &c. A third place lying in "troncsalyngished" between the land of *Simon de Hurst* and the land of

* Dennow is a well-known place in Hull, now in Appleton.

*Gilbert de Twis.* To have and to hold all these three places of land with their appurtenances to the said *Simon* his heirs and assigns of the chief lords of that fee by the services thence due and customary freely well quietly and peacefully for ever with haybote and marl and clay and free ingress and regress and all liberties commons and easements in the aforesaid town of Hatton thereto belonging &c. Clause of warranty &c. And that this my grant may remain firm &c I have to this present writing affixed my seal, these being witnesses: *Richard Starky* of Stretton, *Ranulph* his brother, *Richard de Haston*, *Alan le Norrays*, *John de Hallum*, *Richard le Harper* and others.

*Sealed in grene wax appendent withe a Sarazin's head printed in the same wthe this writing about yt* SIGILLU' ADA DE HATTON.

VI. To all the faithful in Christ to whom this present writing shall come *Geoffrey de Dutton* sends greeting in the Lord. Know all of you that I have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to *Thomas* my son and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten all my lands of Thelewalle with the weir, fisheries, and stallage with the water mill and with all their appurtenances. To have and to hold to him and to his heirs lawfully begotten from the heirs of the lord *Edmund de Lasci* as freely, peacefully, entirely and fully with all liberties, easements and advantages as I held them from my lord the said *Edmund de Lasci.* According to all that is contained in his charter thereof to me made doing the services which are due from me to the heirs of the said lord *Edmund de Lasci* and which are in the same charter contained. But if such heirs of the said *Thomas* shall fail then the said land shall revert to my own lawful heirs without contradiction or claim. But I have given it to the said *Thomas* upon this condition that he shall not have power to sell dispose of or in any way alienate that land in my life time except after his death to his heirs lawfully begotten. And in order that this sale and confirmation may remain firm and established for ever I have attached my seal to this present writing. These being witnesses :—Lord *Roger Montalt*, then Justice of Chester,* Lord *Fulke de Orreby*, Lord *Thomas de Dutton*, Lord *Henry de Thorboe*, Lord *Walter de Vernon*, then Bailiff of Halton,† Lord *William le Boidell*, *Richard of the Hermitage*, *Roger de Toft*, *Richard de Starki*, *Adam de Hatton*, and many others.

[This deed is] circa Ao. Dni. 1273, and in the first year of Ed. I.

*A ffaire seale of grene wax hanginge at the same wherein is printed a shild of armes whiche is an arme armed with a sweard or dagger in the same with the point downeward with this writing about the same*, SIGILLU' GALFR'. DE DUTTON.

VII. This written chyrograph witnesses that *Phenianus de Derwalshawe (sic)* hath given and granted &c to *Ralph*, son of *Adam de Clayton* one selion of

* Roger de Montalt was Justice in 1259. (Ormerod's *Parentalia*, &c.)

† He was still Bailiff of Halton in 1300. (Beamont's *Halton*, p. 33.)

land &c in the town of Thelwelle above "le forlonge" and lying beside the prior's ditch, namely in exchange for one selion lying in two places below the land of the said *Pheniam*. To have and to hold to the said *Ralph* and his heirs and assigns of the chief lords of the fee &c. by the services &c. Clause of warranty. In witness whereof to this present writing indented remaining with the said *Ralph* the seal of the said *Pheniam* is appended, these being witnesses: *Gilbert de Lymme, Robert le Huntte, Gilbert del Twys, Simon del Hurst, William* the clerk and others.

Dated at Thelwall the Monday next after the feast of St. Nicholas* the confessor Anno domini 1312, and in the 12th Ed. II.

*Wythe a ffair seale appendent in grene wax wherein is printed a stagges face betwene the hornes a crosse patant* [*pattée*] *fitché wthe a writinge about the same to wit* TIMETE DEUM.

* As St. Nicholas' day in 1312 was on a Wednesday, this deed was dated 11th Dec., 1312.

# WINWICK AND CULCHETH IN LANCASHIRE, THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY.

*By T. G. Rylands, F.S.A.*

(Read March 18th, 1880.)

[In what follows the materials have been derived from—Tanner's *Notitia;* Gibson's *Anglo Saxon Chronicle;* Wilkins' *Concilia;* Dugdale's *Monasticon; The Monumenta Historica;* English Historical Society Publications; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,* 3 vols.; Collen's *Britannica Saxonica.* For translations, Bohn's Series; they are convenient table-books, but require comparison with the originals. The orthography of Anglo-Saxon names has not been considered important, except so far as was needful to identify clearly the persons or places referred to.]

ABOUT three miles north of Warrington, on the old coach road from that place to Wigan, stands the rural and rustical village of Winwick, almost wholly undefiled, as yet, by what some one has called our "modern hateful civilization." Winwick was, until a comparatively recent date, a very extensive parish, and the richest rectory in the kingdom.

Culcheth is the township which included the eastern portion of the parish of Winwick. It consists, even at the present time, to a large extent of the moss and bog upon which cultivation has long been steadily encroaching. The present church was built in 1743, to replace the one which existed in the time of Elizabeth. The population is almost entirely agricultural.

It has been claimed for these two places that in Anglo-Saxon times, they were of some importance, and it is with these claims that I propose to deal in what follows.

I suppose that I shall be reviewed again for taking up a subject which has been thrashed out and debated "ad nauseam." If so, my reply would be that the two names which form the title of this paper represent two questions, which are still open and undecided. It results, therefore, either that there are not within our reach facts to decide them, or that a verdict has failed because

the evidence has been allowed to run upon wrong lines. I believe the latter to be the case; and therefore, laying aside all that has been written upon the subject for the past century, I propose to begin again by trying to separate the earliest facts upon which we can rely.

As regards Winwick, the question is, Was Oswald slain in *Mercia* or in *North-humbria?* and as regards Culcheth, Were the Councils and Synod held in *North-humbria* or in *Mercia?*

I shall commence with Winwick.

The sainted king Oswald was slain in the year 642, in a battle fought at a place called in the English tongue Maserfelth. Two parishes claim that this afterwards sacred spot, is within their borders.

They have some evidence in common :—Both places date from Saxon times. Both churches were dedicated to St. Oswald. Both possess a St. Oswald's Well; and while the old name of Oswestry was Maes-hir, Mesafeld, or Mesafield, the earliest comparable mention of Winwick, calls it Ecclesia Sancti Oswaldi de Macrefeld. Lastly, while the name of Oswestry is derived from Oswald's tree, Winwick, we are told, means the place of fight or victory.

But though the *ex parte* statement of each claimant might, on the above shewing, appear strong or even convincing, yet in deciding between them, everything they have in common must be entirely excluded. What then remains? Let us see, and let us restrict ourselves to the earliest and best evidence of which the case admits.

Below the cornice on the outer side of the south wall of Winwick Church is an inscription, which has been read as follows :—

Hic locus Oswalde quondam tibi placuit valde
Nortanhimbrorum fueras rex nuncque polorum
Regna tenes plato passus marcelde vocato
Poscimus hinc a te nostri memor esto beate
(A line now obliterated.)
Anno milleno quingentenoque triceno
Sclater post christum murum renoverat istum
Henricus Johnson curatus erat simul hic tunc.

My reading of the above lines differs slightly from that which has been previously printed. In the second line I read Nortan-himbrorum, not Nortanhunbrorum: in the third line certainly plato not prato. Platum is "infimous Latin" for a flat or plain.

Further, I should prefer Marselde to Marcelde, as suggested by the facsimile in Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iii, but in its present condition the letter is uncertain. The name reaches us in the forms Maser, Mæser, Marse, Mesces, and even Marel in Matthew of Westminster, but I nowhere find Macer or Marcel.

How the word Marcelde was formed is of little moment. It is clear that it was meant to represent and refer to the Maserfeld of the *Chronicles*.

The explanation which best satisfies my own mind is, that the poet was a reader of Matthew of Westminster, and that, having some other form of the name in his mind, he corrected Marel into Marsel or Marcel; and lastly that, struggling in the double bond of hexameter and rhyme, he made the word declinable, and wrote—

Plato Marcelde vocato

for

Plato quod Marcel vocatur.

*i.e.*, Marcel plain, Anglo-Saxon Marcelfeld. This at least meets the case, and Marcel is not the worst reading to be found.

We may thus read either slaughtered at Marcelfeld, or on Marcel plain. I prefer the former. It best represents the *Chronicles*, and therefore expresses what must have been in the writer's mind. It is difficult to suppose that a Winwick poet would have written either Marsel or Marcel for Macre or Maker.

For one reason or another every translation of these lines is unsatisfactory. They either attempt to retain the old monkish rhythm or they lose the scope of the prayer. The following are perhaps the best of each class :—

Oswalde this ground was grateful found
to thee; whose hand Northumberland
late ruled, now owns Celestial thrones
In Marcelde field thou life did yield.

This includes only the first three lines.

> This place of yore did Oswald greatly love.
> Northumbria's king, but now a saint above;
> Who in Marcelde's field did fighting fall.
> O! blest one, hear! when here on thee we call.

I omit the remaining three lines which tell us that the wall was restored A.D. 1530, and from its style the inscription is probably not older. 1530 was the year of Wolsey's death.

Now in the Latin, the whole of the first four lines, taken together, form an invocation; and stripped of the quaint, and to us the uncouth, fashion of the time, they stand out not only as a pious and reverential prayer, but as evidence of the traditional belief of the writer. Hence they may be useful. May they be rendered thus?

> Oswald: this place thy warm affections gained
> When here in life, Northumbria's king, thou reigned;
> Slaughtered at Marcelfeld, thy wider sway
> Now bounds the poles: Hence now to thee we pray,
> Blest one, from this loved spot turn not thy heart away.

If this reading be allowed to convey the sense and spirit of the prayer, the suggestion of Baines that a Winwick poet wrote Marcelde for Makerfield is out of the question. It is much more like Marcelāde = Merselande, and yet there ought to be no connexion. Again, Marcelde, wherever it may be, cannot be the loved spot, the "this place," of the lines.

The spot where Oswald fell was rich in miracle, and a suppliant from it would not have written "plato Marcelde vocato," the plain called Marcel; the concluding lines would rather have been,

> Called to a realm wide as the poles, thou passed away
> From this thy cherished Marcel; *Thence* to thee we pray.
> Blest one remember us and ours in this our day.

I conclude that the tradition that Oswald fell at Winwick was not in the mind of the writer of these lines.

But a better established tradition says that Oswald built a palace at Winwick, and lived there. It is to this, if we recall

the character of the sainted king, that the monkish lines seem rather to refer; and if it be so, the confirmation is mutual.

The more important question, however, still remains:—Did Oswald march into Mercia against Penda, or did Penda invade North-humbria?

Hitherto I have failed to trace the latter idea further than to Holinshed, who says, that Penda began to imagine how he might destroy Oswald, and conquer his kingdom "*that he might "joyne it to his owne.* At length *he invaded his country by open "warre.*" The date of Holinshed is about 1575; but compare the account in Nennius:—

Penda, son of Pybba, reigned ten years; *he first separated the kingdom of Mercia from that of the Northmen.* He fought the battle of *Cocboy* (or Chochui,) in which he slew *Eawa*, son of Pybba *his brother, king of the Mercians*, and Oswald king of the Northmen.

In the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* we have, under A.D. 642, This year Oswald, king of the North-humbrians, was slain by Penda and the South-humbrians, at Maserfeld on the nones of August.

In the *Annals of Tighernac*, we have "Cath Osuailt contra Planta in quo Osualt cecidit;" *i.e.*, the battle of *Oswald against Penda*, in which he slew Oswald.

In the *Annals of Ulster*, it is "Bellum Oswaldi regis Saxonum."

Attention being paid to the passages now printed in *italics*, these extracts are very far from giving any support to the statement of Holinshed; on the other hand they appear more than consistent with the idea that the battle was fought in Mercia.

Penda and the South-humbrians are in rebellion and at war with Eawa, who, according to Nennius, was then king of the Mercians. He commences Penda's reign from this year as *king of Mercia.** Oswald joins Eawa to suppress the rebellion of Penda. They are all engaged at Maserfeld, and Oswald is slain.

Is this view otherwise confirmed? From Bede and William of Malmesbury the following facts are obtained, and I have found nothing in other chronicles to contradict them.

* Penda "*assumed this title*" as early as A.D. 626, and he seems from that time to have been a trouble to everybody.

A.D. 633, *Edwin* reigned in North-humbria, and Cadwalla rebelled against him, being supported by *Penda*, a most warlike man *of the royal race of the Mercians*, and who from that time governed that nation, with various success. Edwin was slain. Roger of Wendover says that "Penda had been taken prisoner "by Cadwalla, and had sworn fidelity to him." Penda is always described as a cruel, warlike heathen. It is not easy to believe that Oswald would willingly retain him in the government of Mercia.

A.D. 635. In this year Oswald became king of North-humbria, and in this same year he conquered Cadwalla,* and destroyed him and all his forces. He thus governed a kingdom extended beyond Edwin's boundary, *i.e.*, including *Mercia*, &c., for the countries of both Cadwalla and Penda were subject to him; and when, in 697, Oswald's relics were taken to Bardney, they were not at first admitted, because he had reigned over them (the Mercians) as a foreign king. Under Oswald England had peace for seven years.

A.D. 642. In consequence of an insurrection kindled by Penda king of the Mercians (rebellione per Pendam regem Merciorum excitata), Oswald, instigated by his zeal for the Church of God, waged war upon this heathen, and was slain at Maserfeld. (Zelo Dei Ecclesiæ cum gentili committens . . . effudit spiritum.)†

Penda caused his head and his arms to be cut off and fixed upon stakes; the trunk was buried.

A.D. 643. Osway, the brother and successor of Oswald, went to the place *with his army*, and carried away the head and arms; he took the former to Lindisfarne and the latter to Bambrough.

A.D. 655. Penda was slain at the *Winwed*.

A.D. 697. The bones of Oswald's trunk were exhumed by the Queen of Mercia, and carried to Bardney, which is in the country of the Mercians.

Such are the facts. Do they include a consistent narrative?

First as to Penda, did he reign *ten years*, *twenty years*, or *thirty?*

* He *(Oswald) advanced* with an army, and the impious commander of the Britons was slain at a place in the English tongue called Denises-burn. (Nennius calls it Catscaul.)

† Bede says "fighting for his country;" Mercia was his country; Penda was in rebellion.

Nennius commences his reign from the battle of Maserfield (Cocboy), when he first separated the kingdom of Mercia from North-humbria. He then became king of Mercia, and *reigned ten years.*

From William of Malmesbury we have the following:—

In A.D. 626, Penda, an irreligious heathen, at the age of fifty, *assumed the title of the King of the Mercians,** after he had already fostered his presumption by frequent incursions on his neighbours. Seizing the sovereignty, he began to attack the neighbouring cities, to invade the confines of the surrounding kings, and to fill everything with terror and confusion. . . . In this manner, *for thirty years, he attacked his countrymen, but did nothing worthy of record among strangers.*

In 633, when he joined Cadwalla against Edwin, he is called a most warlike man of the royal race of the Mercians, who *from that time* governed that nation *for twenty-two years*, with various success. At that time, under Cadwalla, he may have become king *de facto*, and in that position he would govern "with various "success."

In 642, his brother Eawa was king *de jure*, under Oswald; and Penda excites the insurrection which ended in the battle of Maserfeld, and in the death of both Eawa and Oswald. By this battle he separated Mercia from North-humbria, and thence reigned for ten years both *de facto* and *de jure*, king of Mercia.

It is very important to notice that by this battle Penda did not conquer Northumbria: as yet it was too big for him. On the death of Oswald, Oswy assumed the dominion over Bernicia, as did Oswin over Deira. It is true that there was discord afterwards. In 650, Oswy ordered Oswin to be slain, and thus became sovereign over the entire North-humbrian kingdom; but Penda is found fighting the West Saxons and the East Angles. He had obtained the position for which he had struggled for twenty years. He was supreme in Mercia, and he had weakened North-humbria.

* (Regis nomen præsumpsit). It is not said that he reigned for thirty years, but that for thirty years he attacked his countrymen, &c.

This explanation simplifies the course of Oswald. It must be remembered that he and Penda may be regarded as respectively the champions of Christianity and Paganism; that Penda had joined Cadwalla in wresting North-humbria from the Christian king Edwin, and had, as the result, assumed the sovereignty of Mercia; also that one of the first acts of Oswald was to make them disgorge their prey, and to drive them from their power.

It was on this occasion that he gained Mercia by conquest. From this time there are seven years of peace, and we hear nothing of martial deeds. Oswald, we may imagine busy with pious work, or enjoying the calm repose of Winwick; but Penda was biding his time. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle fills the interval with baptisms. At the end of it we find Eawa king of Mercia; Penda fomenting rebellion, and at the age of sixty-six fighting the battle of Maserfeld.

It seems to me clear that this was purely a Mercian affair. Penda was of the regal race: his younger brother was on the throne: the one object of his life had been to reign in the land. All these considerations would place the battle in Mercia, and there are several incidental facts which confirm the conclusion.

Nennius, and the Welsh Chronicles call the place Cocboy. Before the battle it was a place of no note, and this Welsh name for it suggests very strongly that it was upon their borders. There are other cases. Thus, when Oswald advanced with an army against Cadwalla, who reigned in Wales, the battle took place at Denises-burn; but Nennius calls it Catscaul.

In Bede, the persons who happen to travel by the place of Oswald's death are of the British, *i.e.*, the Welsh nation; and when the body of the saint is removed, it is taken by a Mercian queen to a Mercian monastery.

Penda did not invade North-humbria after the battle; and lastly, the statement of William of Malmesbury that Oswald, instigated by his zeal for the Church of God, waged war against the heathen Penda, is not consistent with the idea that he stayed at home until Penda attacked him.

Lastly, the name Oswestry—Oswald's-tree—is peculiar, because

the common word *tree* requires a special interpretation, which cannot result from chance or coincidence, for while the Saxons called the place Oswald's treow, the Welsh name was Croes Oswalt, Oswald's cross,—his limbs were fixed to stakes by Penda. This marks an old tradition embalmed in the name.*

If we turn to Winwick, the tradition is both feeble and comparatively young. I have tried to trace it. The *Monumenta Historica* gives no names. Dr. Giles mentions Alban Butler (1756), Dr. Cowper (1749), and "Powell." I believe that David Powel is meant, and if so, that the passage referred to is really from Humphrey Lhuyd's *Description of Cambria*, edited by Powel in 1584. In the edition 1811, 4to, p. xxviii, I find :—

"Vssa had Maesuswalht, now Oswestree. For surely that they "saie commonlie of Oswald, king of Northumberland to be slain "there, and of the Well that sproong where his arm was carried, "is nothing so. For *Beda and all other writers testifie* that "Peanda slew Oswald at Maserfelt, *in the kingdom of Northumber-*"*land*, and his body was buried in the abbey of Bardney, in the "province of Lhyndesey."

I have quoted this passage at length because it supplies an illustration of some remarks I recently made in this room. It shews how mere individual opinion becomes transformed into authority. It is true that "Beda and all other writers testify" that Oswald was slain at Maserfeld, but it is equally true, that neither Beda nor any of the other chroniclers testify that Maserfeld was in the kingdom of Northumberland. This last clause was simply Lhuyd's opinion, and it is clear from the next sentence that he read rather loosely, for the body of Oswald was buried at Maserfeld. At Bardney the bones were washed, as relics beloved of God, and placed in a shrine prepared for them.

The Winwick tradition may be dated from the later years of the 16th century. It was not in the mind of the writer of the

* Gough (*Camden*, vol. iii, p. 420) says, "Camden had the name Croix oswalde from "Leland, the Welsh name is Oswestre or Oswaldstre, *q.d.*, Oswaldstown;" and he adds in a note, "Giraldus Cambrensis knew so little of Welsh as to render it Oswaldi arbor!" Giraldus was a learned Welshman, which Richard Gough was not. Oswestre is neither Welsh, nor Oswald's town, according to any evidence I can find. Gough, though an industrious collector, was not always an accurate compiler.

monkish rhymes upon the Church in 1530. If we allow that it is suggested in the passages I have quoted from Lhuyd and Holinshed, and remember the evidence common to both places with which I commenced, the construction is easy, once given the etymology of the name. But is that etymology sound? I fear not.

In its earliest form the name is Wynewhik, Wynewic, Wynwic, or some such form, with y in the first syllable; and this continues for centuries.

Now Dr. Bosworth, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, tells us—

"WYN, joy, pleasure, delight."

"WIN, labour, contest, war, sorrow; hence proper names in "Win, as Alwin, all in war; Baldwin, bold in war, &c.;" but even Win at the beginning of a name seems to come from Wyn, for he gives "WINBURH, a beloved city."

Then, similarly, we may read Win-wic, for Wynewic, a beloved wic, the wic being a dwelling, or village, a monastery, or a fortress, according to the evidence.*

Now the old wheel, or Paulinus cross, found at Winwick, points to religion there, hence to a religious house; and that Oswald had a house there may be granted.

If we can be content to read the name in its earliest form—the abode of joy instead of "the place of victory"—a name which no Northman would have given to the scene of their defeat—the connexion and association with Oswald is neither less pleasant nor less sure. Winwick cherished the saint—Oswestry crucified him.

So much for the first half of my title.

If you refer to almost any Map of Saxon England you will find in the position of South Lancashire the name Calchuth or Celchyth. There can be no doubt that by these the locality of the modern Culcheth was intended; and it may be added that in early deeds Culcheth is found written Kylchith, or Kilshaw as it is now pronounced in this district.

* Probably our modern words wine and win represent the pronunciation of these old Saxon roots. "*Wine*, which maketh glad the heart of man;" and *Win*, to acquire, to conquer (conquirere), &c. The orthography was, however, very uncertain from Robert of Gloucester downwards.

About a century and a half after the death of Oswald there was a council held at Cealc-hythe, Calchuth, or Celchyth, which was then a "famous place." The question is, Was this our Lancashire Culcheth? or, in other words, Was the Saxon Cealc-hythe in North-humbria?

Archbishop Parker decides in favour of Northumbria, mainly, I believe, on account of the similarity of the names Celchythe and Culcheth; but there is no more unsafe ground than similarity of name. Reliance upon it has led to very much error and confusion.

Bosworth makes the question a mere matter of etymology. In his Dictionary he says:—

"Cealc-hythe the name of a place, Challock, Chalk, in Kent;" and he refers to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 785.

It is desirable to remember that we have our English word Chalk from the Latin Calx, through the A. S. Cealc; but we are not called upon therefore to look for Cealc-hythe in the kingdom of Kent. The question is between Northumbria and Mercia.

Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Whalley, thinks it strange indeed that no antiquary has suggested Checkley for the Saxon Cealchythe. "It is," says he, "in Mercia; make the initial C into Ch (soft as in Chad), invert the two letters c and l in the middle of the word [and cut off the th at the end], and you have Chacli or Checkley." He admits that this would be wild, if it were not supported by positive evidence; and the "positive evidence" is, that Dr. Plott, speaking of tall pyramidal stones, says, that there are three close to Checkley—probably funeral monuments—and that there is a tradition that three bishops were slain in a battle fought there.

Dr. Whitaker adds that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls the meeting at Cealchythe "a quarrelsome and opprobrious synod," and hence the Doctor concludes, "it must follow that Cealchythe "is Checkley"! Comment is needless. In this our day we require "positive evidence" of a different character. Let us see what the real evidence is.

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under A.D. 785, we have :—

"This year there was a contentious synod at Cealchythe, and "Archbishop Jaenbryht gave up some portion of his bishoprick ; "and Higebryht was elected by King Offa."

This is given from six MSS. in the *Monumenta Historica.* Here Offa is King of Mercia, and the archbishopric (Lichfield) to which Higbert was elected was also Mercian.

But in three MSS. the following is added under the same year :—"And at this time messengers were sent from Rome by "Pope Adrian to England to renew the faith and the peace which "S. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the Bishop, and they were "worshipfully received."

Under A.D. 786, Simeon of Durham also gives us the latter fact, adding that "the venerable Bishop George (of Ostia) was one "of the legates ; that they were honorably received on all hands, "and that they returned home with large gifts, as was right."

Now we have the report of the Councils held by these legates, and we know that one was in Northumbria and the other in Mercia. It is no part of my present subject to discuss these Councils, about which there are some things yet to be decided. It is needful to mention them, because Henry of Huntingdon combines the two events mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and tells us that these legates "held a Council at Cealc-hythe "at which Jambert gave up part of his bishoprick," &c., the legatine work was done in Northumbria and simply endorsed in Mercia. This has tended to increase the confusion. It is perhaps only needful to add that Henry of Huntingdon was a Mercian, and that assuming his statement to be correct, it must be referred to the Mercian sitting.

In A.D. 789, there was a synod at Celchyth, the business of which was purely Mercian and the attestations also.

At Celchyth, also, Offa (King of Mercia) makes grants to Rochester.

A.D. 793, according to a questionable charter, at a synod at Celchyth, Offa makes grants to St. Albans. This is a remarkable

document; but even if a forgery, the grantor and grantees are Mercian.

In A.D. 796, two most probably spurious charters are given as drawn up at Celchyth, to which the same remark applies.

As to the Synod A.D. 799 and the Council A.D. 816, however, there can be no doubt; and while the former is purely Mercian, the latter is confined to the province of Canterbury.

Now when it is remembered that this is not the *ex parte* evidence in favour of Mercia, but practically the whole of the evidence that I have been able to meet with, there can remain no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon Cealchythe was not in Northumbria, and therefore was not our Lancashire Culcheth—the resemblance of name notwithstanding.

It is no part of my business to-night to determine the Mercian locality; and I shall only add, that remembering the change of Calx and Cealc into the modern chalk, Professor Stubbs quotes from Newcourt, Repertorium I, 583, the following old forms of the name of Chelsea:—Chelcheth, Chelchyheth, Chelchyth, Chelcheth, the form Chelsey appearing first A.D. 1554.

The difference between Calchythe or Celchythe and Cealc-hythe may have been the difference between the hard and the soft initial, and from the latter to the soft ch the transition is common and easy; but as to this I can only opine, and I have small faith in such resemblances.

To-night we have had

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maser-feld | and | Makerfeld, |
| Marcelde | and | Marcelande, |
| Winwed | and | Winwick, |
| Cealc-hyth | and | Culcheth, |

none of them related! These are sufficient to serve as a warning.

Let me conclude by saying that it was not for the purpose of disturbing the opinions of others that I took up my pen. The subjects discussed in this paper came up in the course of my own reading, in a form which led to uncertainty and to enquiry for my

own sake only. Upon this I was engaged when our Secretary asked me for a paper.

As regards Culcheth the case is to my mind beyond question and clear; and if as to Winwick, I should prove to be the first Lancashire man who has cast his vote in favour of Oswestry, I can only say that it has been done with all sincerity, at the expense of long-cherished prepossessions, and that even already I am quite reconciled to what I now believe to be the truth.

# THE MINOR ROMAN STATIONS OF LANCASHIRE; ALSO THE CAMPS AND MISCELLANEOUS DISCOVERIES IN THE COUNTY.

*By W. Thompson Watkin, Esq.*

(Read 22nd January, 1880.)

IN three previous papers, I have had the pleasure of laying before the Society all the information that former authors have bequeathed to us concerning the larger Roman stations of the county,—Lancaster, Ribchester, and Manchester,—with comments upon their statements, and additional notes regarding such discoveries as have been made in recent years.

In the present paper I propose to treat of the minor *castra* erected and held by the Roman forces during the three and a half centuries of their occupation of Lancashire and of Britain.

The most noted of these is at Overburrow, only just inside the county, being about two miles south of Kirkby-Lonsdale in Westmoreland. From the fact of its distance from Ribchester, now identified with *Bremetonacae*, on the one side, and from the Roman station at Borrowbridge (*Alio* or *Alionis*) on the other, it is now generally admitted to be the *Galacum* of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus and the *Galatum* of Ptolemy; which seems confirmed by the name of the small river (the Lac) at whose junction with the Lone it is situated. As the site of this station is now the ground upon which a mansion stands, with large grounds attached, it has completely disappeared from above ground, though doubtless many remains are still buried beneath the surface of the lawn and gardens. We have therefore only the testimony of earlier writers to rely upon.

The first in order of these is Leland, who in his *Itinerary* (*temp.* Henry VIII) thus speaks of it :—

" Borrow now a vyllage set in *Lunesdale*, a vi Myles beneath " the Foote of *Dentdale* hath been by likelyhood some notable " Towne. The Plough menne find there yn ering, *lapides* " *quadratos*, and many other straunge thinges ; and this place is " much spoken of, of the Inhabitans there."

Camden, who visited the place at the close of the 16th century, thus speaks of it :—

" As soon as the *Lone* enters Lancashire, the *Lac*, a little river, " joyns it from the east. In this place stands *Overburrow*, a " small country village, but that it was formerly a great City, " upon a large plot of ground between the *Lac* and the *Lone*, and " being besieged, was forced to surrender by famine, is what the " Inhabitants told me, who have it by tradition from their An- " cestors, and certain it is, that the place makes proof of its own " Antiquity, by many ancient Monuments, Inscriptions, chequer'd " Pavements and Roman Coins ; as also by this modern name, " which signifies a Burrow." He then tells us that he considered it to be *Bremetonacae.* (Gibson's *Camden*, edit. 1722, p. 976.)*

Why we have not copies of the inscriptions found there, and named by Camden, has always been a puzzle to antiquaries, as at every station where inscribed stones existed he has preserved the inscriptions. Rauthmel, in his *History of Overborough*, conjectures that they were amongst some antiquities which Camden and Sir R. Cotton shipped in a vessel which foundered at sea. This is the most likely explanation.

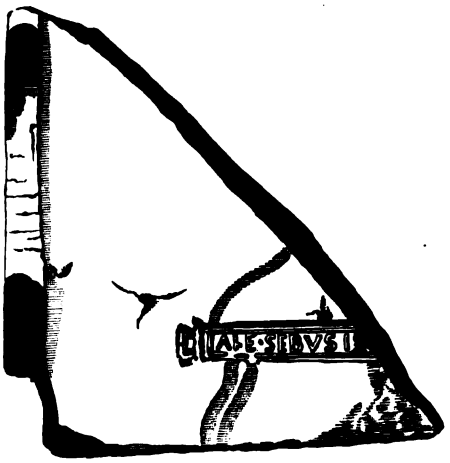
Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana* (1732), adopts Camden's hypothesis as to the *castrum* being *Bremetonacae*, but gives no further information as to the site.

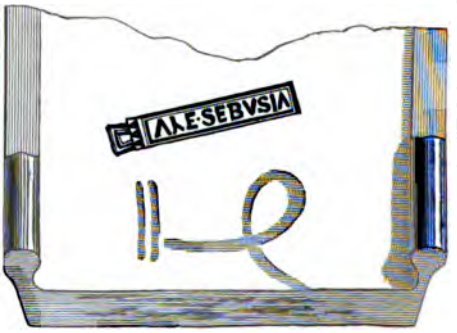
In 1740, the mansion above-named was built, and the greater part of the entrenchments levelled. In making the necessary excavations for the former, there was found a large brass coin of Vespasian, some paterae and other vessels, a *praefericulum*, a

* Up to the date of his 3rd edition (1590) Camden held the opinion that Ribchester was *Bremetonacae*, and Overburrow *Galacum*, from the name of the river *Lac;* but he subsequently changed his opinion, and erroneously considered the latter to be *Bremetonacae.*

FIG. 1.—Gold Bulla, from Overborough.

FIG. 2.—Gold Bulla, from Manchester.






FIGS. 3, 4.—Fragments of Roman Tiles, found at Quernmore Park, near Lancaster.

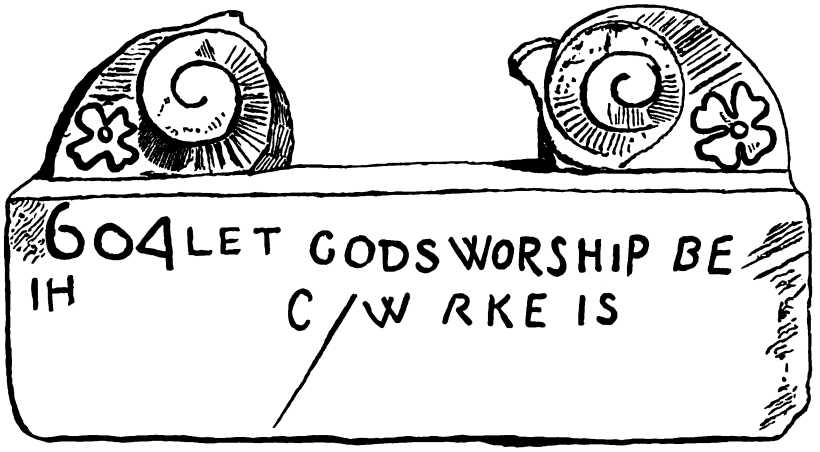



FIG. 5.—Head of a Roman Altar, at Wigan.

circular piece of dark purple glass, about an inch in diameter, "waved round with a white serpentine line and perforated in the "midst." A golden *bulla*,—a class of antique of which the only other specimen found in Britain was that discovered in the Irwell at Manchester, (see Plate I, Fig. 2,) and described in my paper on that fortress,—was picked up by a lady of the Fenwick family the (owners) upon the lawn (see Plate I, Fig. 1); and in an old wall was found, built up, an altar, bearing upon one side a figure of a bird, like an owl, and on the other a *securis* and *secespita* were sculptured. On the front was this inscription—

DEO SAN
CONTR
EBI VA
TA POSV

Various readings and expansions of this inscription have been proposed, but the latest and best is that of Professor Hübner of Berlin, who expands it as, *Deo San(cto) Contrebi V(alerius) Atta posu(it)*. Like the word CONTRE, in the altar of Jalonus found at Lancaster, he considers the CONTREBI to be derived from the Hispano-Roman town named *Contrebia*. (For other readings of this inscription see Rauthmel's *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses*, p. 102; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1759, p. 407; Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii, p. 269; Baines' *History of Lancashire*, edit. 1836, vol. iv, p. 609; Gough's *Camden*, 1789, vol. iii, p. 140). This altar is now unfortunately lost. Engravings of the Overborough and Manchester *bullae*, both now lost or hidden, I annex.

The erection of the mansion does not, however, seem to have immediately obliterated all trace of the *castrum;* for Britton, in his Lancashire volume (No. 9) of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, tells us that in 1807 the ramparts on the east and south sides were still visible.

An urn containing burnt bones was subsequently found under the turf of the lawn; but the discoveries since 1740 have been almost *nil*. Dr. Whitaker says—"Since his (Rauthmel's) time" (1746) "no addition has been made, nor was likely to be made,

" on the site of a large dwelling house and offices, or beneath the " surface of a smooth undisturbed lawn, and I have repeatedly " and vainly explored every building and hovel, every wall and " loose stone about the place for an altar, inscription, or fragment; " nay, so nearly had the tradition of an ancient city, so rife in " the days of Camden and Leland, disappeared in the beginning " of the nineteenth century, that a gentleman who inhabited the " manor house, while he liberally gave me permission to inspect " the premises, gravely assured me that he had indeed heard an " idle story of some ancient city on the place, but that the whole " was a mere invention."

In the second edition of Rauthmel's work (1824) it is said, p. 137—" Of the remains of antiquity at Overborough, nothing " now is visible, with the exception of the head of a pillar with " a human face sculptured upon three of its sides, lying at the " door of the gardens, and said to have been dug up at the time " the garden ground was trenched; and a fragment of an elegantly- " figured stone, without any inscription thereon, in the wall of a " barn on the road side."

The next station in point of size, and also of importance, was on the summit of a hill called Castercliff, about a mile to the south of the town of Colne. It is a parallelogram, of about 380 feet by 340, with the corners rounded off, as in many other Roman stations. This refers to the internal measurement of the walls; but there has been a double vallum and fosse, surrounding the station, the dimensions of which are about 550 feet by 520. In addition to these, the S.W. side was protected by a deep gully. Great quantities of stones, belonging to the walls and interior buildings of the station, lie about the ground, most of them half buried in the soil, but all seem in a semi-vitrified state. The Society possesses in its Museum two specimens of these stones, presented by the late Mr. T. T. Wilkinson, January 1st, 1857. The *vallum* is at present about a foot high from the interior level.

A Roman road from Ribchester, another from Slack (*Cambodunum*), and another leading northwards from the station, have

been traced here; but the traces of them are faint, and they are by no means large roads, in fact seem to be of the Lower Empire. Roman coins have occasionally been found at the foot of the hill, and several hoards within a few miles of it (as we shall see hereafter); but no inscription or other antiquities have been recorded as being discovered. A large number of British earthworks are in the immediate neighbourhood, and two smaller Roman forts, which I will describe immediately. From the fact of its etymology, and also from the town of Colne bearing the name of *Calna* in a charter of the time of Henry I, it has been thought by most antiquaries that the station was that called *Calunio* by the anonymous chorographer, Ravennas. This is very probable, but present information neither confirms nor disproves it, though future discoveries may at any moment throw light upon it. It is also probable, from the discoveries of single coins here and there, that the suburban buildings of the station extended down to the bank of the river Calder, where modern Colne now stands. Traces of outworks are also visible between Castercliff and Colne.

The station called *Rigodunum* by the geographer Ptolemy, was, according to his latitude and longitude, apparently in Lancashire, but until further discoveries of inscriptions enlighten us, we cannot tell its exact position.

As I have previously written, (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, pp. 114, 115; vol. xxx, p. 153; and *Transactions* of this Society, vol. xxviii, p. 69,) there remains little doubt but that Wigan represents the station *Coccium* of the tenth Iter of Antoninus. Its distance from Manchester (*Mancunium*), and from Ribchester (*Bremetonacae*), agrees exactly with the mileage of the Antonine Itinerary; and the fact of three Roman roads (at least) meeting there, the traces of a ditch and agger visible round the town so late as 1836, its standing on the summit of a hill with four principal streets and gates (in the Roman manner), Wall Gate, Mill Gate, Standish Gate, and Hall Gate, confirm the fact. Roman pottery has occasionally been found, and sepulchral urns, containing burnt bones, have been turned up. Four of the latter

are in the Society's Museum. A fine *aureus* of Vitellius (A.D. 69), found in Wigan Mesnes, is also in possession of the Society; and according to the *Liverpool Mercury*, of May 26th, 1837,—"A number of Roman coins, some so defaced as to be illegible, "others of the reigns of Probus, Victorinus, Gallienus, and "Tetricus, were dug up in removing some old stone work at "Wigan the other day."

This passage I have before quoted in my paper on "Some "Inedited Discoveries of Roman Remains in Lancashire and "Cheshire," and from it infer that the stonework named was Roman. Intervening between the large stations of *Mancunium* and *Bremetonacae*, *Coccium* would probably be a mere *mansio* or *mutatio*.

Since writing the above, I have examined (as far as it is possible to do so) a Roman altar, now built into the splay of the east side of the window of the tower in the Parish Church at Wigan. It was found (during some restorations at the church) under the communion table, *circa* 1847, and was then placed in its present position. From its being only partially visible, it is impossible to tell its exact dimensions, or whether it bears on one of its sides a Roman inscription. On the exposed face is a half-obliterated modern inscription, dated 1604. A drawing of the portion visible is annexed.*

There are two small though most interesting stations in the vicinity of Burnley, which I have recently visited, and which are barely half a mile distant from each other. The first of these is of an oblong shape, and is situated upon Worsthorne Moor. It is called in the neighbourhood "Ringstones Camp," and, as the crow flies, is about 2¼ miles almost due east from Burnley. A small Roman way, paved with boulders, leads to it from a farm house called "Botten," this latter being situated on the road going northwards from Worsthorne towards Extwistle Hall. The Roman way, I ascertained by measurement, is only seven feet in width, and is at present about two feet above the level of the ground on the pasture land to the west of the open moor. The

* I am indebted for this to my friend, J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A.

*angles* of the fort face the points of the compass, the lower portions of the walls are traceable round the whole area, although completely embedded in earth and long grass. They are about fifteen inches above the interior level. The ditch or fosse is also traceable around them, though much filled up. The measurements of this camp are—from N. angle to E. angle, 120 feet; from N. angle to gate on N.W. side, 73 feet; from N.W. gate to W. angle, 77 feet; from W. angle to S. angle 107½ feet; from S. angle to gateway on S.E. side, 66 feet; from this gateway to N. angle, 51½ feet. Ruins of buildings are visible within the fort, especially on the S.W. side, near the S. angle, where they stand some 5 feet high, but buried in soil. There are also at this angle the remains of a tower buried in a mound of rubbish; and on the S.E. side, near the E. angle, are the remains of an exterior building or tower joining the main wall. This building is 49 feet square. The gateways are evidently those called the Praetorian and Decuman gates, and they are nearly opposite each other. The road is lost beneath the surface of the moor for some distance between the pasture land and the fort, but becomes visible outside the S.W. wall.

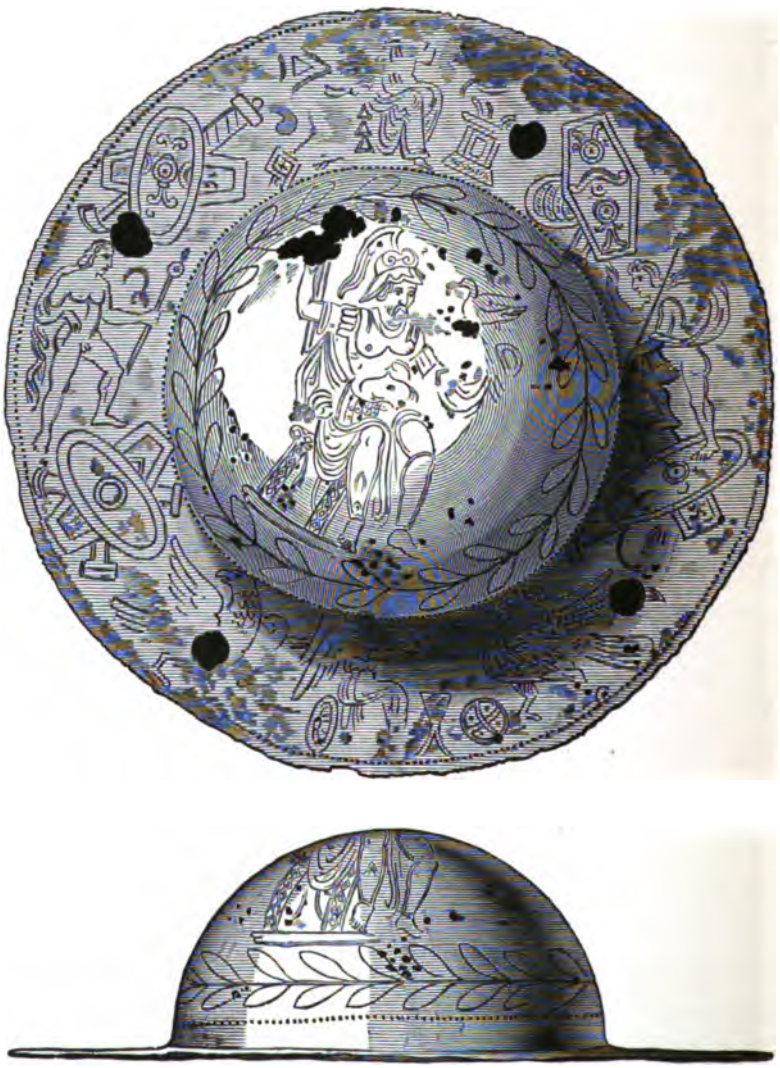
A short distance beyond the N. angle of the fort, there is a steep and precipitous descent to the valley beneath, through which runs "Swinden Water;" and here are the reservoirs of the Burnley Waterworks. On the hill on the opposite side of the valley, about half a mile distant, is the other station, which bears the name of "Twist Castle." It is, however, about 150 feet square; the remains of the walls and fosse are still traceable, the former being higher above the surface of the moor than those at Ringstones Camp. The gates are visible as at the latter; and at the S.E. angle is a building sixty feet square. A circular tumulus of loose stones is close adjoining, and on some high ground to the east is a circular entrenchment, 58 yards in diameter. Several smaller *tumuli* of loose stones occur in the neighbourhood. Between these forts and Colne, a number of entrenchments and earthworks occur.

I narrowly scrutinised every stone in the neighbourhood of

these forts, but could find nothing inscribed. Many stones were dressed in a manner unmistakably Roman, and others bore the appearance of tombstones, though if they had ever borne inscriptions, the latter had long since vanished. No coins or other antiquities are recorded to have been found at these stations; but as they have not been disturbed for centuries, it is unlikely that anything would be discovered above ground. Excavations only can reveal these treasures, whether numismatic, epigraphic, or architectural. That much lies buried, the uneven surface of the ground is sufficient to show. These two forts, I opine, will be amongst those mentioned as being in this part of the country by the anonymous chorographer, Ravennas; but rather than wildly speculate as to their names, we must await further discoveries before identifying them.

It appears certain that the *Portus Setantiorum*, or "Haven of "the Setantii," named by the geographer Ptolemy as being south of Morecambe Bay, was in Lancashire, though unfortunately little reliance can be placed upon his statements of latitude and longitude. It is equally certain that a fine Roman road of the Higher Empire, and, consequently, probably existing at the time when Ptolemy wrote, runs westward from Ribchester, and has been traced (as I shall shew in my paper on the Roman roads of the county) as far as the estuary of the Wyre, where no doubt the *Portus Setantiorum* existed, though now destroyed by the encroachments of the sea. But on the way to the Wyre estuary, at Kirkham in the Fylde, this road seems to have had another small station upon it.

In a field, about half a mile from Kirkham, great quantities of wrought stone have been dug up, as if belonging to ruined buildings, with portions of Roman urns. In the "Mill Field," at various times, Roman pottery has been ploughed up, also a coin of Hadrian; and in 1792, the bronze *umbo* of a shield was found in the brook at "Mill Hey Field," to the east of the town. It is thus described by Baines, in his *History of Lancashire* (edit. 1836), vol. iv, p. 377—"This antique, resembling the crown of a hat, "has four perforations for the thongs, and is decorated by figures



BRONZE UMBO OF A ROMAN SHIELD.

*(Found at Kirkham. Now in the British Museum.)*

"of an altar with flames; a female sitting on a tripod; two men, "one with a spear and mantle, and the other running; a group "of spears and shields; two eagles; two globes; Mercury; and "a bird resembling a goose." After being in the possession of Sir W. Hamilton, and subsequently in the Townley collection, this relic passed to the British Museum, where it is now preserved. Dr. Whitaker, who first engraved it, erroneously describes it as having been found at Garstang. The *umbo* has been re-engraved for this volume by Mr. Lewin, of London. (See Plate II.)

It was the first *umbo* of a Roman shield *recorded* to have been found in Britain, but since then two others have come to light, one at Matfen in Northumberland, which is identical in shape with that found at Kirkham, though destitute of any ornament, but bearing upon it, punched or drilled, the name of the company (*centuria*) to which its owner belonged, Ↄ· RVSPI QVINTI. *i.e., Centuria Ruspi Quinti:* "The century of Ruspius Quintus." The second example was found at the bar of the river Tyne, but it is of oblong form, with a central boss, and is highly ornamented. From the inscription upon it, we find that it belonged to a soldier of the eighth legion.

Mr. Hardwick, in his *History of Preston*, p. 23, also states that "two copper coins of Hadrian were found near the church at "Poulton, and a large medal of Germanicus in a garden behind "the market place. A coin of Domitian has likewise been dis-"covered at the 'Breck,' which is near the 'Skippool,' or estuary "of the 'Skippon' Brook, at its junction with the Wyre. From "the direction of the road and the natural advantages of the "locality, it is probable the Roman vessels were 'beached' not "far from the 'Skippool.'"

At Upper Allithwaite, 3¼ miles to the N.E. of Cartmel, there is a remarkable isolated conical hill, opposite the mouth of the Winster, now called Castlehead, but formerly "Atterpile Castle." It had the appearance, on the summit, of a rough neglected wood, until, about 1785, the late J. Wilkinson, Esq., the great ironmaster,

turned it into an ornamental ground. Wherever the depth of soil invited cultivation, trees and shrubs were planted, and a number of paths were cut in the rock, &c. In making these alterations, a great quantity of antiquities were found, including seventy-five Roman coins ; rings of silver, brass, and iron ; beads of blue rag-stone, lead, clay, and glass ; a stone, supposed to have been a mould for casting silver rings ; iron ore, boar's tusks, bones of deer, teeth of buffaloes and other animals, and portions of a human skeleton. There were also ninety-five stycas of the Northumbrian kings. Whether this spot was occupied by the Romans or not is a matter of conjecture—the coins may have been in circulation in Saxon times, and the stycas prove occupation by the last-named people. A small urn, containing calcined bones, was found in "Yew Tree Field," in Allithwaite, in 1834.

In his *History of Whalley*, Dr. Whitaker *supposes* the existence of a station in the vicinity of Littleborough, near Rochdale, chiefly from the course of the Roman road between Manchester and Ilkley. Baines, in his *History of Lancashire* (edit. 1836), vol. ii, p. 645, improves upon this, and says that "the remains of "the Roman camp have, at the end of fifteen centuries, nearly "disappeared ; but the site of the works rears its lofty front a "little to the east of the village, and bears on its summit the "ancient mansion of Windy Bank."

As a matter of fact, no camp or other intrenchments have been known to exist here.* The only foundation for such a statement was the discovery of some coins (a hoard) a few miles off, which I shall describe shortly, and another interesting discovery which took place in 1801, at Tunshill, in the parish of Butterworth. Some labourers at work in a slate quarry, on the property of Robert Beswicke, Esq., of Pike House, came upon the representation of a human right arm and hand, 10 inches in length, and weighing 6 oz., formed of pure silver. The hand was solid, the arm hollow, and the execution of both excellent. An annulet

* It is true that the term "Castle" is applied to a spot in the neighbourhood.

of silver surrounded the arm above the elbow, it was not a separate piece but one with the arm; another was fastened round the wrist. From this latter depended a silver plate, which bore the following inscription, drilled through it:—

VICTORIAE
LEG. VI. VIC
VAL. RVFVS
V. S. L. M

*i.e.*, *Victoriae legionis sextae victricis, Valerius Rufus, votum solvit libens merito.* This relic had evidently been a portion of a statue of Victory, which, to be in proportion with it, would be about two feet in height. It came into the possession of Dr. Whitaker, and was lately (if not now) in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Guthrie, of Twiston Manor House, near Clitheroe. This lady, who resided chiefly in Paris, was there when the German army appeared before the city in 1870, and it was only two days before the complete investment that she was enabled to leave it. This relic, with other valuables, she took with her, and thus, after the lapse of sixteen centuries, it was again brought into the presence of hostile armies.

On the inside of the thumb a piece of solder remains, which renders it probable that the figure held a wreath or chaplet in the hand.

From the occurrence of a small paved road, which has been traced leading from the large Roman road between Wigan and Manchester, at Chorlton Fold, a few miles from the latter city, to what is called the "Castle Croft" at Blackrod, it has been supposed that a Roman station existed at the latter place, though no Roman remains have been found there. The road, which is only nine feet wide, has not, however, been traced further. There may possibly have been some small exploratory post here, but certainly no regular station. This place is four or five miles N.E. of Wigan.

At Walton-le-Dale, close to Preston, and where the Roman road,

coming northwards from Wigan, crosses the Ribble by a ford, Mr. Charles Hardwick in 1855 found evident traces of a small Roman post. A mound called the "Plump," and some adjoining land, to the extent of about 100 yards from east to west, were found to be full of fragments of Samian ware, &c. In the mound itself, at a depth of three feet, "a foundation wall, about eight yards "long, eighteen inches broad, and nearly a foot in depth, was "discovered." This wall, formed of irregularly-shaped fragments of the red sandstone rock of the neighbourhood, had no mortar. *Above it* was a layer of large boulders mixed with gravel, and upon this Roman remains, pottery, coins, &c., were discovered. In vol. viii of this Society's *Transactions* these remains are described at length. A first brass of Antoninus Pius; a second brass of Domitian; a coin of Germanicus; and two illegible coins, were the numismatic portion of the find. Some fragments of thin sheet lead; two fragments of pewter vessels; several large iron nails; a small piece of copper; a small bronze fibula, with traces of purple enamel; another fibula of fine brass, with a circular figure in bright red enamel, having a small rod of iron, plated with silver, about 3½ inches long; a portion of a quern; and many fragments of Samian ware, bearing designs, were found; also fragments of amphoræ, &c. One handle of an amphora was inscribed FVCRM.

From the position of Burnley at the junction of the Calder and the Brun or Burn, on a *lingula*, from the occasional discovery of Roman coins there, and from the fact of one, if not more, Roman ways being traceable to it, there is little doubt of a small post having existed there. Fragments of Roman pottery, and funeral urns, containing burnt bones, have also been found.

On an eminence to the north of the village of Urswick, the foundations exist of a rectilinear fort, of which three of the sides measured 67 yards each, and the fourth 52 yards. According to Baines, the walls appear to "have been composed "of loose stones, and have been ten feet in thickness." The south side of the enclosure has two gateways or openings. About twenty yards to the north-west of this enclosure is another

circular walled plot of ground, about 95 yards in diameter, and divided into compartments by interior walls. The "Stone Walls" is simply the name given to these enclosures in the neighbourhood. They are probably Romano-British. In 1774, whilst cleansing a ditch 150 yards north-east of Urswick Church, a bronze tripodal vessel was found, weighing 3lbs. 2oz., somewhat like a modern coffee pot, and capable of holding 1½ pint; it resembles some of the Roman camp kettles found elsewhere. In 1798 a silver coin of the Emperor Otho was found in an orchard in Little Urswick.

At Dalton-in-Furness, on the line of a Roman road, which I shall subsequently describe in my paper on the Roman roads of the county, there appears to have been a small Roman post. Mr. West, at page cx of his *History of Furness*, was the first to give any published account of it, saying that there was "a ditch "and rampart on the east side of the churchyard." Upon examination it was found that the station was built upon an artificial mount, defended on the south and west by steep precipices, on the east by a rampart and ditch, and it was supplied with water by a brook which flowed at its base. Mr. West further states, that in 1801 part of a leaden aqueduct, with numerous branches, was found within the area of an ancient building, containing one or more baths, in a meadow near Park Farm. In August, 1879, some men, digging for stone for building, in this meadow, came upon stone foundations, laid upon massive pieces of oak, presumed to be part of the buildings named by Mr. West. A quantity of light slag, evidently smelting refuse; lead ore, in a pure state; a carved bronze key; a mason's pencil; and a number of bones were also found at the same time. The site adjoins the Furness Railway, and is on property belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. It is right to say that the evidence as to these remains being Roman is by no means conclusive.

To these permanent stations must be added the interesting Roman dock at the mouth of the river Keer, near Warton, and which, having somewhat recently described it to the Society

(*Transactions*, vol. xxviii, pp. 75-6), I need not at present again give an account of.

At Halton, a few yards north-east of the church, and separated from it by a small beck, there is a lofty circular mound called Castle Hill. Another mound, very similar, exists close to the church at Arkholme, on the north-east side. A third is situated about fifty yards to the east of the church at Melling; this rises twenty feet above a raised terrace on which it stands, and which is also considerably above the natural level of the ground. At its summit it is fourteen yards in diameter. A fourth occurs about half a mile above Hornby, close to Lune's Bridge, and has adjoining it a circular camp, sixty yards in diameter, with a deep ditch and vallum on its south-east side, and on the north-west it is protected by an escarpment thirty feet deep.

Dr. Whitaker and some other antiquaries imagined these mounts to be the sites of the keeps of Saxon castles. Dr. Lingard suggested that the camp at Lune's Bridge might be Roman. His words are—"Annexed to it is a tumulus or "barrow; and so many of these which have been opened lately, "under the notion that they were Danish or Saxon, have turned "out to be Roman, that I should not be surprised if the same "were the case here. The camp may perhaps have been one of "those called Castra Æstiva."

From inspection of these mounds I have come to the conclusion that they are Roman *botontini*, marking agrimensorial limites. Were they opened, probably nothing but potsherds and charcoal would be found in them, unless a rough wall was erected, as at the large mound called Bellas Knap in Gloucestershire. A large post might also be found standing erect in the centre, as at Silbury Hill, Wilts, and Cuckhamsley Barrow, Berkshire. It is quite possible that the Saxons may have made use of them, and used them as look-out posts, and that some slight traces of Saxon remains might therefore be found upon their summits. Indeed it is probable that the circular camp, whoever were its makers, (though it is not Roman,) was made at Lune's Bridge, in consequence of the proximity of the mound there. I am inclined to

think that there have been one or two other mounds of this nature between Halton and Lune's Bridge, which have been levelled.

The vestiges of temporary Roman camps in the county are singularly few, though several British ones remain. At Little Bowland, 15 miles N.N.E. of Preston, there are some remains of a camp, but they are comparatively slight, and have never been explored.* At Mellor, near Blackburn, on the summit of the highest ground in the neighbourhood, about 2½ miles from the latter town to the N.N.W., there are also the well-defined outlines of a small rectangular entrenchment, which I had the pleasure of inspecting only a few days ago. It is about 150 yards from the road leading from Wilpshire station to Mellor, and on the north side of it. Its sides face the cardinal points, and it measures about 33 yards from E. to W., by 17 from N. to S., and was evidently a mere outpost to Ribchester, probably made for the purpose of signalling to and from the latter station. Ribchester church (which stands in the middle of the station at that place) is visible from it, but by moving about 100 yards either to the east or west, it is completely hidden. The ditch and rampart are entire all round, but there is no record of any discoveries having been made in or near the camp. It lies within a mile to the W. of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester.

Slight traces of camps exist at Agecroft, near Kersall Moor, some three miles from Manchester, and at Little Bolton, near Trafford Park, also about the same distance from that city, but it is doubtful if they are of Roman origin or were ever occupied by Roman forces.

At Portfield, two miles from Whalley, and on the crest of a spur from Pendle Hill, there are faint traces of a considerable rectangular entrenchment, thus described by Dr. Whitaker in his *History of Whalley* (2nd edit., 1818), p. 252:—"On the highest "point of ground within the lord's park, and immediately adjoin- "ing to the site of Portfield," (a mediæval house now destroyed),

* This may be perhaps better recognised by saying that it is at Whitewell, in the parish of Whalley, 7 miles N.W. by W. from Clitheroe. The Roman road from Ribchester to Overborough passes near it.

"are the remains of a considerable encampment, of which the "figure has been a trapezium. Of this, the N. and E. sides are "pretty entire, with a double rampart and foss, rectilinear, but "rounded off at the angles. A road carried in the bottom of the "foss, on the S., has rendered the appearances less distinct on "that side, and a very precipitous sandbank on the W. * * * "Whatever it may have been, it was conveyed by Peter de Cestria, "rector of Whalley, more than five centuries ago, by the name "of Le Castell."

Some antiquaries have thought this to be one of the stations named by Ravennas, as existing in this part of the country, but I opine it is merely a summer camp of the troops stationed at Ribchester.

Of Roman villas, with perhaps the exception of the site of Hornby Castle, near Lancaster, there have been found no traces within the county. This castle stands upon an abrupt conical-shaped rock, with the river Wenning running at its base, and upon a *lingula* or tongue of land, formed by that river and the Lune; the confluence of these rivers being about a mile distant. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii, p. 250, says of this site—"For by them" (the Romans) "it was un-"questionably occupied, as the Roman coins, lately found in "digging among the ruins, and the remains of a brick pavement "sufficiently prove. Of the former, beside many of the small "brass, much defaced, I have seen a very fair middle brass of the "first Antoninus. It was probably the villa of some wealthy "provincial," &c.

The discoveries of hoards of coins, &c., (other than those found at, and described under the head of, the large stations,) are considerable.

Dr. Kuerden informs us, in his MSS., that, in the 17th century, there was found in Mr. Edward Townley's park at Myerscough, about seven miles north of Preston (near, or on the line of, the Roman road from Walton to Lancaster), an urn containing a great number of coins, which he had himself seen in Mr. Townley's possession; but he does not give us any details of them.

At a place called Mereclough, in the township of Cliviger, about 5 miles S.S.E. of Burnley, a number of Roman coins were dug up in 1695, which appear to have been chiefly consular or family denarii, from the account given by Thoresby, who received twenty-two of them. Whether this was the entire find is not known. They were found close to the Yorkshire border, near a large tumulus of loose stones, which, when it was removed in 1763, was found to cover a kist-vaen with a skeleton. One of them, Thoresby says, was of Q. Cassius, 162 years A.C., many of them bore the head of Rome without an inscription, others had upon them ROMA, and one was of L. Valerius Flaccus, A.V.C. 492. (See *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xx, p. 310; and Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodensis*, p. 283.)

Dr. Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire*, book iii, pp. 81 *et seq.*, gives an account of a Roman copper vessel, which he calls an *urceolus*, (but which, from his engraving of it, pl. I, fig. 11, resembles a *patella*,) found in the 17th century at Standish, containing two hundred coins, two gold rings, and a gem engraved, the latter evidently from a ring. The gem and about one hundred of the coins are delineated in the plates of Dr. Leigh's work. The latter seem to be all *denarii*, and of the following emperors and empresses :—Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Clodius Albinus, Severus Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla, Macrinus, Diadumenianus, Elagabulus, Julia Paula, Julia Soemias, Julia Maesa, Severus Alexander, Julia Mamea, Maximinus, Pupienus, and Gordianus Pius.

The Rev. J. Pointer, in his *Britannia Romana* (pub. 1724), adds Nerva and Constantius Chlorus to this list, but omits Trajan and the empresses. I think him wrong, as a coin of Trajan is most clearly given amongst those engraved by Dr. Leigh; and if the hoard contained a coin of Constantius Chlorus, it is almost certain that coins of some of the numerous emperors between Gordianus Pius and his reign would have been amongst the collection.

A silver cup, enclosing a large number of silver coins (*denarii*)

was turned up in 1696 at Emmott, about three miles to the east of both Colne and Castercliff. In Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836 edit.) vol. iii, p. 236, it is said that the Rev. Mr. Hargrave, formerly rector of Brandsburtone, saw some of these coins; one was of Gordian, and some were of the Antonines.

The same gentleman says that Roman coins, turned up from time to time at Wheatley Lane, about three miles west of Castercliff, and four south-west from Colne, were generally of copper. Coins have often been found there since that time, and still are occasionally turned up. In 1825, whilst digging the foundations of a manufactory at Greenfield, about a mile and a half N.E. from Castercliff, a number of Roman coins were also dug up.

In June, 1761, in a field called the "Low House Wood," at the Dyer Wood, near Barcroft, about two miles from Burnley, on the estate of Mr. Peter Ormerod of Ormerod, about two hundred coins were found, with the remains of a broken vessel of green glass, the handle of which was ornamented with white and blue strokes. A large stone lay immediately above the vessel, which had broken it: above this were several cart-loads of stones. The coins had fallen out of the vessel, and fully one-half of them were much corroded, the remainder being fairly preserved. Only a few have been particularly described. They were of Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius, the bulk of them being of the Constantine family.—*(MS. account.)*

From the *London Chronicle* of January 16th, 1779, and the MSS. of Mr. Thomas Barritt (the Manchester Antiquary), we gather that on the 17th December, 1778, some workmen, digging in the grounds of Mr. Josias Robinson, of Chatburn, near Clitheroe, found an urn containing upwards of 950 silver coins of the Higher Empire, the earliest being of Augustus. Coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius are mentioned as being among them, but the name of no other emperor occurs in the account. The coins were about 8lbs. in weight.

At the close of the last century two men, whilst quarrying in Cartmel Park woods, near Walton Hall, in Upper Holker, struck

upon an unglazed earthen vessel, which was broken to pieces before its contents were noticed, the said contents being 524 silver *denarii*. These coins were in a fine state of preservation, the earliest being of Antoninus Pius, and others of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Plautilla, &c., the latest being of Gallus and Volusianus. A copper coin of Hadrian was amongst them. They came at the time into the possession of Lord George Cavendish, and are believed now to be in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. (Stockdale's *Annales Caermolenses*.)

A copper coin of Antoninus Pius, and another of Probus, have been discovered at Ulverston.

On the side of the Roman road between Overborough and Ribe, several tumuli or rather cairns of stones have been found, containing urns. In one of them were two copper *styli*, and in another about two hundred *denarii*, mostly of Alexander Severus and Gordian. (Gough's *Camden*, edit. 1789, vol. iii, p. 140.)

Dr. Whitaker gives us particulars of two discoveries of coins made near Rochdale. At p. 31 of his *History of Whalley* (2nd edit., 1818), he speaks of a number of Roman coins found at Castle Mere, several of which were of the middle brass series and of the Higher Empire, one, if he was not mistaken in his recollection, being as early as the reign of Claudius. The other discovery he thus speaks of at p. 545 of the same volume. "At "Underwood near this town, about fourteen years ago, was found "a small iron box containing a rouleau of Roman brass coins, "folles of the Lower Empire, in general extremely fair and "fresh. Those which I have seen, besides a small brass of the "emperor Tacitus, are of Constantius Cæsar, Maximian, and "Dioclesian. The obverse of one, apparently Dioclesian, is "nearly effaced; the reverse, a figure of Moneta, with balance "and cornucopiæ, circumscribed 'Moneta S. Avgg. et Caes.' "The legend on the reverse of all the rest is the same—'Genio "'Populi Romani.'"

On 8th May, 1819, a man, cutting turf on Longton Moss,

found a small oaken box, which contained 17 Roman coins of copper and 11 of silver. Those which were legible were of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina. They came into the possession of Mr. Westmore, of Friargate, Preston, and five of them are now in the possession of Miss ffarington, of Worden Hall. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1819. Hardwick's *History of Preston.*)

A copper coin of Vespasian was found in 1820 near Wood Plumpton Church. (Hardwick's *History of Preston.*)

In 1836 the workmen boring for coal at Whittle, near Chorley, found a *denarius* of Philip, and another of Valerian. (Hardwick's *History of Preston.*)

In 1837, at the same place, on removing the rock from an old stone quarry above the tunnel formed for the canal, a hoard of nearly a thousand small brass coins of the Lower Empire was discovered.

In 1840, nearly four hundred *denarii* were found by some men at work in a brickfield belonging to Mr. Walmsley, between Rossall Point and Fenny, near the landmark at Fleetwood. They were in good preservation, and were of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Severus, Caracalla, &c. About forty came into the possession of the Rev. W. Thornber, and the remainder into the possession of Sir Hesketh Fleetwood, Bart., at Rossall Hall. At the sale of the effects of the latter, they were purchased by Alderman Brown, of Preston. (*Preston Chronicle* and Hardwick's *History of Preston.*)

At p. 68 of the Catalogue of the Museum of this Society there is a list of the following imperial *denarii* given :—Vespasian, 4 ; Domitian, 2 ; Trajan, 10 ; Hadrian, 1 ; Antoninus Pius, 1 ; Gordianus Pius, 1 ; which it is said formed part of a hoard brought to light at Tarbock, in the parish of Huyton. I should much like some further particulars of this discovery, if any member of the Society can furnish them.

In January, 1835, a large hoard of Roman coins, chiefly of

brass, but with some silver ones intermixed, were found at Heapy, 2¼ miles N.N.E. of Chorley. They are described as being in excellent preservation, but of what emperors is not stated.

At Ainsworth, 3 miles E.N.E. from Bolton, better known in the neighbourhood as "Cockey Moor," Roman coins have been found. This place adjoins the Roman direct road from Manchester to Ribchester.

In 1850 at Worden, near Preston, a hoard of 126 Roman coins was discovered about 18 inches below the surface, 100 of which are in the possession of Miss ffarington, of Worden Hall. They are all third brass, and consisted of 8 of Gallienus, 1 of Postumus, 29 of Victorinus, 1 of Marcus (rare), 54 of the Tetrici, 12 of Claudius Gothicus, 1 of Quintillus, 1 of Aurelian, 5 of Probus, 14 illegible. Sixteen of the coins were given to the Preston Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, and ten to the Rev. G. Baldwin, Vicar of Leyland.

In February, 1856, a large earthenware vessel, of Roman manufacture, was discovered on the property of Mr. J. Fenton, in the neighbourhood of Hooley Wood, about a mile north of Heywood. It contained about a thousand small brass coins, chiefly of the Lower Empire.

In 1864, at Throstle Hill, in the township of Walmersley, three miles to the north of Bury, a small earthenware vessel was discovered, covered with a flag, containing about 600 coins, chiefly small brass of the Lower Empire. They were of Gallienus and his wife Salonina, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Quintillus, Claudius Gothicus, Tacitus, Probus, Caransius, and Maximianus. With these coins were found (as described by Mr. Hardwick in vol. XVIII of the *Transactions* of this Society), a pair of silver bracelets, one ornamented with vine leaves, the other with bunches of grapes. The ornamentation was slight, and the workmanship inferior. A plain massive silver bracelet, one-third of an inch in breadth, and broken. Two armlets, one of twisted silver cord, one-eighth of an inch thick; the other of a single silver wire, one-tenth of an inch thick, fashioned so as to

resemble the other. Two fragments of another armlet, about one-quarter of an inch diameter, of silver wire, twisted round a bar of bronze. Three silver finger rings, one with a stone attached; some pieces of broken silver rings (like wedding rings); some pieces of a thin bronze armlet; a small bronze hinge; the bowl of an elegantly-shaped bronze spoon, over one and a half inch in length, and over half an inch in breadth; and an amulet of amber, heart-shaped, pierced so as to be suspended alone, and not as part of a string of beads. It was richly streaked with orange-coloured veins, and was under an inch in its longest diameter. The place where this find occurred is about three miles to the east of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester.

At Broughton-in-Furness a coin of Maximus was found, about 1785, in digging, and subsequently one of Hadrian was discovered.

At Elliscales, in the parish of Dalton-in-Furness, a number of Roman coins, with human skeletons, were found about ten inches under the surface.—(*Baines' History of Lancashire*, edit. 1836, vol iv, p. 627.)

Several miscellaneous remains have been found, which are clearly of the Roman period, at various places within the county.

Dr. Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire*, &c., engraves, in pl. I, fig. 3, what he calls at p. 81, book iii, "an idol" and also "Victory." It is a winged statue, which was found when ploughing at Upholland, three miles west of Wigan. From the engraving it would certainly seem *not* to be Victory; but the plate is so rudely engraved that it is evidently of no value as a criterion. Dr. Leigh does not say whether the figure was composed of stone or metal.

In Miss ffarington's collection at Worden Hall there is preserved what Mr. Hardwick, in his *History of Preston*, p. 49, calls, I think erroneously, "a massive gold ring." This ring was exhibited at the Gloucester meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1860. It resembles Roman rings, though it is of uncertain

date, and appears to be of base metal. The letters SPQR are chased upon it in low relief. It was found near Leyland.

"At Risley, three miles from Warrington, was found, in 1734, "a brazen metope of an ox, on a bed of white sand, under a bed "of peat five yards deep. It was three-quarters of an inch by "two and a half between the horns."—*(Minutes of Society of Antiquaries.)*

At Breightmet, two miles E. by N. from Bolton, and not far from the Roman road running from Manchester to Ribchester, there were found, about 1790, twelve Roman urns of earthenware and of cylindrical form, containing burnt bones and ashes. In the top of each was a small bone, about two inches in length. On being exposed to the air the urns mouldered into dust.

A stone, which appeared to be but a fragment of a larger one, with some illegible lines inscribed upon it, was found, prior to 1824, by Mr. A. Court of Lowgill, in draining a moist meadow at that place, in which he came upon the pavement of the Roman road from Ribchester to Overborough. The stone (and also two horse shoes) was found *beneath the surface* of the road. The stone was in Mr. Court's possession, and I am endeavouring to trace it, as I have little doubt it was a portion of a Roman mile-stone, and to skilled epigraphists may prove to be legible.

This constitutes, as far as I am aware, the sum-total of the vestiges of the Roman epoch which remain to us in the county of Lancaster, with the single exception of the roads, to which I hope shortly to devote another paper.

Excluding perhaps Northumberland, I doubt whether any English county has produced so many elaborate articles in the precious metals and in bronze of the Roman period. The silver arm from Littleborough, the gold *bullae* from Manchester and Overborough, the gold rings from Standish, the silver cup from Emmott, the rich "find" of silver articles from Walmersley, the bronze shield *umbo* from Kirkham, and the beautiful helmet from Ribchester, with the gold cup from the same place, form an

almost unequalled collection of Britanno-Roman works of art. Would that all of them were now in existence, and could be brought together within the boundaries of the county.

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NOTE.—The engraving of the *umbo* of the shield found at Kirkham, is taken from the original, now in the British Museum, which has, through the courtesy of Mr. A. W. Franks, been examined and compared with the engraving given in Whitaker's *Richmondshire.*

Of the tiles found at Lancaster (Plate I), one is in the possession of Miss ffarington, of Worden, (whose drawing I exhibited to the Society,) the other, found at the same time, is now lost. A sketch of the latter, however, was taken; and eventually the drawing came into the possession of the Rev. Canon Raine, of York, who recently presented it to Mr. Charles T. Gatty.

# ON THE COINS FORMING A NECKLACE, FOUND IN S. MARTIN'S CHURCH YARD, CANTERBURY.

## AND NOW IN THE MAYER MUSEUM AT LIVERPOOL.

*By the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh, F.S.A.**

(Read 27th November, 1879.)

"THERE was a church," says Ven. Bæda, "near the city of "Canterbury, towards the east, made of old in honour of "S. Martin, whilst as yet the Romans dwelt in Britain."

S. Martin died A.D. 397, the Roman domination in Britain ceased in 409, and the Angles came in 428; but many of the courtiers of the emperor Maximus, with whom, as his temporal sovereign, S. Martin had had very intimate relations, must have survived him, and to their veneration for his sanctity probably it was owing that a church was built in his honour, during this interval, almost contemporaneously with the erection of the earliest chapel over his tomb at Tours.

When Æthelberht, king of Kent, received in marriage Bertha, daughter of Chariberht, king of the Franks, it was on this condition, "that she should have leave to keep inviolate the rites of "her faith and religion, with the bishop Liudhard, whom her "parents had given to her as the helper of her faith;" and to this church of S. Martin the queen was wont to repair for the exercises of religion, naturally preferring a church which bore

* Written by the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh for Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., to be read at a meeting of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Mr. Haigh died suddenly, May, 1879.—J. MAYER.

the name of a saint of her native land, to another ancient Christian church which still existed within the walls of the city.

The instructions of Liudhard and the influence of Bertha were not without their effect; but "one sows and another reaps." The people waited to know what their prince would do, and he had not yet declared his sentiments. The letters of S. Gregory show that he was induced to send missionaries to him by what he had heard of his favourable disposition towards the Christian faith. So S. Augustine and his companions came to reap the harvest; and after they had received permission to dwell at Canterbury, they used to assemble at S. Martin's to sing psalms and pray, celebrate mass, preach and baptise, until the king himself embraced the faith.

But bishop Liudhard and his associates had other lessons to teach, in which they would find more willing disciples,—arts of civilization. In goldsmith's work and jewellery, indeed, the Angles and Jutes of Kent were vastly superior to the Franks; but there were other arts in which the Franks, who had learned them from the Romanized Gauls, were more advanced than they; and chief amongst them must be reckoned writing and coinage. In these, too, the Teutonic races of Britain soon learned to surpass their Continental neighbours.

The Romanized Britons apparently had continued to use the currency of the Empire down to the middle of the sixth century, and then began to supply their wants by imitations of the same, tolerably close in design, but carelessly, perhaps purposely, blundered in their legends. As an example, I would refer to an imitation of a coin of Justinian, with DNIVSTINIANVS I on the obverse, and a thoroughly blundered legend on the reverse; formerly Mr. Rolfe's, now in the Mayer Museum. Their Teutonic neighbours did the same; but in the execution of the types by degrees the peculiar characteristics of their own art appear; and even in the midst of their imitations of the legends, which they did not understand, they sometimes introduced the names of kings or earls in their own native runes. Of this the two following are examples:—

1. *Obv.* Diademed bust to the right. *Rev.* The emperor in military habit looking to the right, his left foot trampling on a prostrate foe, a standard in his right hand, and on his left victory standing holding a crown. The imitation of a type of Honorius is tolerably good, but the letters of the legend on either side are strangely blundered; save that the name SCANOMODV, in well-formed runes, occupies nearly half the legend space on the reverse. This is probably to be referred to one of the earliest Teutonic colonists of Britain.

2. A similar type, imitated from the coins of Theodosius, but the details of the execution betray barbaric design. The legends are blundered as before, and one side of the reverse is occupied by HAMAA, in well-formed runes, giving us the name of a Mercian prince who lived in the earlier part of the sixth century. This piece was found at Harlingen* in Friesland.

Sometimes, however, these rude moneyers attempted to give to the legends a symmetrical form, arranging them so that from the centre they read the same to left and right, or evidently intended to do so. As instances I will cite the following:—

1. *Obv.* Bust to the left, before it a globe surmounted by a cross. *Rev.* A winged figure apparently standing in a boat. Above it a large eye with eyebrow. The legend on the obverse is TAIAIZO OSIAT. This piece, figured by Messrs. Fougeres and Combrouse (*Monetaires des Rois Merovingiens*, pl. 60), was in the cabinet of General Gazan.

2. Similar type, but a different object before the bust, and the eye on the reverse much larger. The legend OIIIO OII. This coin was found at Sutton, near Dover, came into the possession of Mr. Rolfe, and is now in the Mayer Museum.

3. *Obv.* Bust to the right, an imitation of a coin of Justinian. *Rev.* Victory holding a crown, (almost exactly the same as on Mr. Rolfe's coin, above noticed.) The obverse legend is INAIII ITANV. This coin was found in a field near Canterbury.

* The name Harlingen commemorates the Herelingas, who, equally with Hama, were victims of Eormanric's vengeance, and may have been given to the place by fugitives from England, who carried the coin thither.

4. Similar type. The obverse legend is CVRRVI + IVRRVC.*

So far I have been speaking only of the coinage of gold. The same features appear on the later coinage of silver, which was of course more abundant than that of gold, and of this, for example, I will mention two types.

1. *Obv.* A head. *Rev.* A bird perched upon a cross. On either side the type is usually enclosed in a serpent, tail in mouth. The legend is the same on both sides; on one specimen it is TAVHOMOHVAT; on the finest specimens it consists of HVAT written in opposite directions from MVA in the centre. These coins, some of which have been found in Kent, are comparatively numerous. (Ruding, pl. 2, figs. 27 to 37.)

2. On sceattas, of the type of which two examples were found in a grave at Sarre in Kent, I have noticed the letters AVNV to right and left of the Runic legend PADA. On others, with the same Runic legend, the letters EAST appear to right and left. What importance was attached to this peculiar arrangement of legend may be judged from the fact, that on a beautiful circular gold brooch found at Feversham and now in the museum at South Kensington, four panels appear, one at each extremity of the cross, and each containing the letters ᚴᛋ ᛗᛋ *i.e.* ᛗᛋ written to right and left.† Some mystical significance perhaps was attached to it.

Thus at the time of the coming of Queen Bertha and Bishop Liudhard to Kent, the Teutonic colonists of Britain were content with reproducing imitations of Roman coins. There was no idea of surrounding the types with intelligible legends; the only writing with which they were acquainted was their old Runic system; the Roman letters were as unintelligible to them as their Runic letters have become to most of their descendants; and the most they attempted was the occasional introduction of some

* Fougeres and Combrouse: *Mon. des Rois Merov.*, pl. 61. This piece has been referred to the Visigoths, who certainly employed this type of Justinian; but the treatment of the Victory on the reverse connects it more closely with coins of the same type found in England, and noticed above.

† These letters are Sclavonic SC, and possibly stand for *Sclav*, as I have supposed SU on other brooches to stand for *Swæf*, M for *Mearc*, F for *Franc*. In my *Essay on the Runic Monuments of Kent*, I have noticed several traces of Sclavonic influence on Teutonic art, as did the late Mr. Kemble.

rune-written name in the midst of what to them were barbaric characters. In France, at the time, there was a regular system of coinage; in every city, and in very many places of less consequence, there was a mint, and its productions were marked with its name on one side, and that of the moneyer, (who thus made himself responsible for the purity and weight of his work,) on the other. This system Liudhard appears to have introduced into Britain. I think its introduction must be referred to him, because it is altogether different from that which prevailed in Italy, whence the later missionaries came, though they certainly continued it. The evidence of this fact is scanty but decisive.

In 1838, M. de Longpérier, then curator of the Cabinet des Medailles at Paris, communicated to the *Numismatic Journal* a figure and notice of a gold triens, which formed part of the collection under his care before the Revolution of 1789, and which he unhesitatingly assigned to Canterbury.

*Obv.* EVSEBII MONITA. Diademed bust to the right. *Rev.* +DOROVERNIS CIVITAS; a cross patonce. Weight 29 grains. This attribution was rejected by Mr. Akerman on the grounds, that the Anglo-Saxons did not coin gold, (which was then almost regarded as an axiom, notwithstanding the existence of an undoubtedly genuine solidus of Wigmund, Archbishop of York, in the Pembroke collection, and the then recent discovery of a gold mancus of Eadward the Confessor, at Worcester;) and that the form *Dorovernis* was unknown in documents of English origin. In the *Revue Numismatique* of the same year, M. Cartier agreed with Mr. Akerman, claimed this coin as French, though unable to find a home for it, suggesting, however, *Doroernia*, Troor sur la Dice, three leagues from Caen, notwithstanding the inapplicability of *civitas*. M. de Longpérier, on the other hand, adduced the following arguments in favour of his view.

"The piece is more Roman, more imperial, than our French "triens. The name of the moneyer, *Eusebius*, is entirely Greek. "Few of these names are found on Frank money. On the con- "trary, Greek names are found in the English history of the "time.

"The word *civitas*, at full length, is quite an English form. "The word *Dorovernis* is certainly not found in English docu- "ments; but the words *Aurelianis*, &c., are in like manner "found only on the coins, and not in documents (written).

"Mr. Akerman himself confesses that, if the Saxons did "actually strike gold money, this is just the kind of piece "we ought to look for. Now all the difficulty is to know if the "Saxons did or did not strike gold money; and this enquiry, "handled, with care by Ruding, has been left too uncertain, not "to admit of a monument, so explicit as that before us, as a "strong proof in favour of the affirmative."

It was reserved for me to remove one of Mr. Akerman's difficulties in 1841, in a communication to the *Numismatic Chronicle*. I adduced the evidence of several charters,* shewing that *Dorovernis* uniformly represented Canterbury until near the close of the eighth century; and of the earliest MS. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Ven. Bæda, shewing that *Doruvernis* was the only form known to him; and cited a charter of Archbishop Æthelheard, A.D. 798,† as the earliest document in which the form *Dorobernia* can be found.

Ven. Bæda, indeed, relates a story,‡ which is itself evidence of a Kentish coinage of gold in the seventh century. He says, that S. Earcongota, daughter of Earconberht, king of Kent, a nun in the monastery of Brie, saw in a vision a number of men clothed in white entering the monastery, who told her that they were come to fetch away the *aureum numisma* that had been brought thither out of Kent, and that she understood this as a warning of her own death. Let it be said by those who repudiate the idea of warnings such as this, that her vision was informed by her own consciousness; still that consciousness embraced the fact that there was a coinage of gold, and one of peculiar excellence, in her native Kent.

I have had the opportunity of publishing notices of other gold coins, certainly English, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*; and the

* *Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici*, viii, ix, xiv, xxvii, xli, cvii, cviii, cix, cxi, cxxxii.
† *Ibid*, mxix. ‡ *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 8.

publication of the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, has furnished decisive evidence of a mintage of mancuses, in the will of king Eadræd (p. 154). *Thanne minre* (read *nime*) *man twentig hund mancusa goldes and gemynetige to mancusan.* "Then let one take twenty hundred "mancuses of gold, and mint to mancuses."

All the objections, therefore, which flouted this little treasure at its first appearance are dissipated; and we now recognise it as a beautiful example, warranting the expectation of others, of a coinage inaugurated at Canterbury by the first Christian missionaries, in imitation of the Frank coinage of the time, but as superior to that coinage as the other gold work of the Jutes is to that of the Franks. Eusebius, like Ambrosius and Pelagius, may be the name of a Romanized Briton.*

By the side of this I venture to place another. *Obv.* +CORNILIO. Diademed bust to the right. *Rev.* +TENEIS M. Two men standing, two hands joined, holding a ring, the other two uplifted and spread out. This piece is in the Leyden Museum. The loop attached shows that it formed part of a necklace.

Before I proceed to discuss its type and legends, I will notice two others in the British Museum.

*Obv.* Diademed bust to the right, but remarkably varied from the last in the dress. +C——LIO, beginning and end of CORNILIO, the space between filled by the runes ANIWULUCU. *Rev.* Same type as the last +TENAEISI.†

*Obv.* Diademed bust to the right +ΛΛΛΛNLIO. The end of CORNILIO, but unmeaning characters substituted for the beginning, (as if the artist had begun at the end, and was tired of copying letters he did not understand.) *Rev.* A cross on steps; BEAU TIGO in runes. Found at Eastbach Turville, in Gloucestershire.

There is no place in France to claim the first of these, but in

* Of the whole band of missionaries who accompanied S. Augustine not one had a Greek name.

† In my notice of this coin in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, I can hardly be blamed for looking for a meaning in the letters CLIO. No one could have supposed that they are what we now see that they are. So also the Leyden coin corrects the reading HENALISI.

Dorsetshire there is Cernel,* a place where ancient tradition says S. Augustine preached, destroyed an image of a god Heil or Helith,† and founded a church. There I believe this coin was minted; and it is not a little remarkable that the trienses, corresponding to this Frank coinage, as yet discovered, should be of places connected with his mission.

The name of the moneyer *Teneis* or *Tenaeisi* is Celtic.‡ So also is the name of the chieftain *Aniwulucu*, though written in runes.

On the third coin the remains of the name *Cornilio* indicate the model the artist had before him; but in the reverse legend he has had recourse to his own *futhorc*, and tells us that the value of the piece was *beau tigo*, "ten moneys," or "tenpence," which is quite correct, for the gold penny of Henry III, current for twenty pence, weighed 45.2 grains, and would require the triens, worth tenpence, to weigh 22.6 grains, which is nearly the truth.

These notices and remarks are offered with a view to the illustration of the coins which form the especial subject of the present paper. They were found about the year 1843 in the churchyard of S. Martin's, purchased by Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich, and exhibited to the Numismatic Society at the sessions of 1844-5, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, then Secretary. Eventually, with the rest of Mr. Rolfe's collections, they found a home in the Liverpool Museum. They were all looped for suspension, and had evidently formed part of the splendid necklace of some lady of high rank in the seventh century. The collection comprises six gold coins and one Roman intaglio; and (supposing that the largest gold coin was hung in the middle, and the rest arranged, according to their size, on either side,) uniformity would require at least one other coin, and an ornament to correspond to the intaglio. Probably there were more. Beads of gold, like those

* The traditional derivation of this name *Cerno Ei*, "I see God!" said to have been an exclamation of S. Augustine, serves only now to provoke a smile.

† A gigantic human figure, cut in the turf on the hillside (like the white horse in Berkshire), may be a restoration of the image said to have been destroyed.

‡ cf. *Tenegus* (with its variations in the Chronicles); *Tenac* (in an Irish Ogham inscription) cf. *Annicuri* (in an inscription at Lanivet near Bodmin); *Cativolcus* (*Cæsar*, B.G. vi, 31).

found on Ixworth Down, near Devizes, and figured in the *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. 1, would separate each pair of pendants.

We will describe the coins first, and then offer a few remarks to illustrate them.

1. *Obv.* D N IVSTINVS P P AVG. Bust of the emperor, diademed, to the right. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. In the exergue CONOB. Victory standing, looking to the left, holding a globe surmounted by a cross in her left hand, and a garland in her right; a star in the field. A triens of a well-known type, in good condition. The weight is 26 grains, from which about 3 must be allowed for the loop.

2. *Obv.* +ICONBENAS + FIT. A rude bust, diademed, to the right. *Rev.* +NONNITVS MONITARIVS. Two Victories standing, holding a tree between them. A Merovingian triens; extremely rare; weight 26 grains (including loop).

3. *Obv.* +FETO I ASENO. A rude bust to the right. *Rev.* +LEONARDO MONITARII. A rude figure of Victory, marching, to the right, holding a crown. A triens; unique; weight 23 grains.

4. *Obv.* + I VEGIO VICO. Full-faced bust, apparently of a saint, with an aureole formed of two circles of pearls; a small cross on the breast and over the left shoulder; a long cross over the right. *Rev.* +LEVDVLFO MONITAIIO. A saint, with an aureole surrounding his head, his right side naked, but drapery over his left; on horseback, galloping to the right. A solidus; unique; weight 85 grains; but considerable allowance to be made for the loop and a beaded ring which surrounds it.

5. *Obv.* ƆII SIPI VIII VC. Crowned bust to the left. *Rev.* ƆITIIXCIVƆXITIIC. In the exergue, N. Two men going in opposite directions, yet turning their heads each to the other, and each holding a cross; between them is a banner, on which is N. Two small crosses in the field, each over the shoulder of one of the figures. A triens; unique.

6. *Obv.* LYV . PAR . DVS . EPS. Bust, diademed, to the right. *Rev.* ИIN ⊳ AA ◁ ИIN. In the exergue VAV. A peculiar double cross. A triens; unique; weight 26 grains (including loop).

The first of these belongs to Justinus I, emperor of the East, A.D. 518 to 527. The two following belong to the Merovingian series. Their legends are to be read,—

"*Nonnitus* moneyer made (me) in *Conbenæ*,"
"Made in *Asenum* by *Leonard* moneyer,"—

the I in each representing the preposition *in*.

Of the former mint a coin was afterwards published in the *Revue Numismatique*,* of a different type, but of the same moneyer, and reading on the obverse CONBENAS FIT.

No. 3 is a copy of the barbarous imitations of Justinian's money, of which I have noticed some varieties above; and comparison with these shews that the loop to the left is not the letter P nor D, but simply an ornament.

No. 4 is to be read—

"(Made) in *Vegius* village by *Leudulf* moneyer."

Solidi of the Merovingian moneyers are excessively rare. Messrs. Fougeres and Combrouse have published one,† and I do not know of another—for this I do not class with the Merovingian series. The type of its reverse is quite without parallel in that series, and it is executed with a beauty and correctness of drawing quite foreign to it. The triens of *Cornilium* is one realization of the expectations raised by that of *Dorovernis;* and here we have another more precious still, not only on account of its module (so excessively rare, as I have already observed), but on account of the especial interest of its type in connexion with our present subject.

The aureole around the head of the horseman on the reverse distinctly marks him as a saint. Yet he is not armed, as S. George and other soldier-saints would be; he has not even a helmet on his head. A sword might be supposed to hang at his left side (the side which is hidden from us); but the side which is presented to us appears to be naked, and he would seem to be entirely naked, were it not for the folds of a mantle before and behind, which might be supposed to cover the left shoulder.

* 1845. p. 18. † *Monetaires des Rois Merovingiens*, pl. 1.

Now in the life of S. Martin of Tours I find two incidents, both of which, I think, the artist must have had in view, as they seem to explain all these circumstances.

Whilst yet in the ranks of the Roman cavalry, which he had been compelled to enter by imperial orders, one severely cold day in the midst of winter, riding in the midst of his troop, he was met at the gate of Amiens by a poor man, almost naked, soliciting alms. The rest having passed by without taking any notice of him, Martin thought he was reserved for himself; and as he had already given in charity everything that he possessed, and had nothing left but his arms and cloak, he drew his sword and cut the cloak in two, giving half to the beggar. In the following night he saw in a dream our blessed Lord, wearing the half-cloak he had given away, and heard Him saying to the angels around Him — *Martinus, adhuc catechumenus, hac me veste contexit,* "Martin, yet a catechumen, has clothed me with this garment;" words which for more than fifteen hundred years have been the first antiphon of the nocturn office of his feast. This determined him to ask for baptism, which he received in the eighteenth year of his age, and for leave to lay aside his arms, that he might devote himself to the service of the Church. At the request of his tribune, however, he continued for two years more in the army. The Germans having made an irruption into Gaul, the troops were assembled to march against them, and a bounty was distributed to the soldiers. Martin thought it would be unjust to share in this, when he intended to quit the service; and begged that his portion might be given to another, and himself released. Taunted with cowardice in asking for his dismission on the eve of a battle, he offered to be placed in the front, without arms, saying,—*Ego signo crucis, non clypeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus,* "I, protected by the sign of the cross, "not by shield nor helmet, will penetrate the squadrons of the "enemy without fear,"—words which form the third antiphon of the nocturn office of his feast.

The incident of the division of the cloak must be familiar to all students of mediæval art; but the combination, in this little

design, of the half cloak, with the offer to ride unarmed into the ranks of the enemy, strikes me as masterly. Even the commencing the legend so as to place the + in front of the saint's face, seems part of the design. The contrast is very great between the elegance of the reverse and the barbarism of the obverse. But here, instead of a conventional head, imitated from Roman coins or modelled from the round, I suspect that the artist has attempted to copy a painted portrait, and that of S. Martin; for it evidently represents an ecclesiastic and a saint, and in the treatment of the face reminds me of the LONDVNI coins in Mr. Lefroy's Crondale treasure.*

The certainty that S. Martin is the subject of the type on each face led me to search for *Vegius vicus* in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, and I find Wick-ham about three miles to the east of S. Martin's; exactly corresponding, "Wick" to *Vegius*, and "ham" to *Vicus*. Not without reason, then, did the good lady who was wont to pray at S. Martin's during life, and chose its sacred precinct for her resting place after death, select this precious coin for the central pendant of her beautiful necklace. The two remaining pieces of this little treasure are also English.

I have spoken of the coins in which personal names are introduced in the midst of a series of letters which are meaningless as they stand, but are evidently copied from Roman coins. No. 5 is of this class. The ɔII at the beginning are copied from the DN, "Dominus noster;" and the VIIIVC at the end from the VSAVG "(Jovin)us Augustus" of Roman coins. Between them we have SIPI, and here I recognise the name of *Sibbi*, (thus he wrote it in his attestation of the foundation charter of Medeshamstede, A.D. 664,) king of the East Saxons, after the death of his father in 617, (but in what precise year he came to the throne we know not,) until 694. The letter on the standard on the reverse I take to be the rune *Sigel*, the initial of the name of Seaxnot, the founder of the East Saxon line of kings, honoured as a god by the old Saxons on the Continent; the initial also

* *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vi, p. 171.

(for his sake, it is believed), of the names of the East Saxon royal family (with one exception), from Sleda down to the extinction of their race. By the type of this reverse, found also on several sceattas, (*Ruding*, pl. 26, figs. 1, 10, 11, 13, and pl. 29, fig. 11,) as compared with others (pl. 26, fig. 8), I have long ago been reminded of the congency of this prince and his cousin Sighere. Though suggested originally by a device common on Roman coins, it was doubtless modified by the circumstances of the district where these coins were minted; just as on the standard, which reminds us of the labarum, we see the letter N instead of the Christian monogram; and how could a congency of two princes, united in dominion, yet each having a distinct province to administer, and distinct duties to perform, be better set forth than by these two little figures, walking different ways, yet looking each towards the other, and towards their common standard?

This is the first distinct attribution of any coin to the East Saxon kings, but must be followed by the sceattas above mentioned.

I now come to No. 6, the most precious jewel of the whole collection. By the aid of inscriptions from France and Burgundy I discovered, and communicated to the *Archæologia Cantiana*,* the true reading of the obverse legend. In the legend on the reverse the AA in the middle, being much larger than the rest, remind me of the A which is very conspicuous on many sceattas with varying legends, (*Ruding*, pl. 2, figs. 8 to 11, 13 to 16, 22 to 25,) all probably Mercian or Northumbrian; and may be the initial of *Angle*, which would apply to either, as well as to the second Teutonic dynasty of Kent. From these AA the legend reads the same to right and left.

This, as I have observed above, is a peculiarity of a large class of undoubtedly English coins, and on this account, and because the coin is fully equal in execution to the beautiful *Dorovernis* triens, and vastly superior to any production of the

* Vol. viii, p. 233.

contemporary Merovingian mints, I have always entertained a firm conviction of its English origin. Knowing nothing of any bishop to whom it could be appropriated, except Liudhard, the chaplain of Queen Bertha, it seemed natural to connect it with him, and to suppose the first P a mistake for D; but when I found in Thoms' additions to Ven. Bæda's Martyrology the name *Liphardus*, the balance of testimony of the coin seemed to outweigh that of Ven. Bæda. I was not then aware of the existence of any record of a distinct *Liphardus*, although it had been for many years under my hand. Now that I have found it, I have no occasion to suppose an error, neither in the legend of the coin, nor in Ven. Bæda's reading.

In *Britannia Sancta* (London, 1745), and *A Memorial of Ancient British Piety, or a British Martyrology* (London 1761), works I have constantly used for many years, I find that the feast of S. Lifard or Liphard was kept in the diocese of Cambrai on the 4th February, whilst the memory of S. Liudhard was associated with that of the first Christian king of Kent, on the 24th of the same month, in the church of Canterbury. The names are indeed distinct. In the ordinary old English form the first element of each respectively would be *Leod*, *Leof;* and these would dialectically vary *Liod*, *Liud*, *Liut*,—*Liob*, *Liub*, *Liup*. The second element, *heard*, is the same in each.

For full information respecting S. Lifford I referred to the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. iii. The legend there given is derived from a MS. which was in the hands of Nicholas Belfort, a Canon Regular of the monastery of S. John Baptist des Vignes, near Soissons, about the year 1650. It runs as follows * :—

* "Tempore quo Dagobertus imperium Galliæ tenebat, rex Cadruelis Anglicis gentibus "jura dabat, adversus quam rex Galliæ tantâ viâ æstuabat, ut et quantum posset crudelitatem "exerceret, et ad majora, si quando daretur occasio, animum pararet. Ecce autem volenti "animo optata adest facultas. Cadruelis enim ille filium eiusdem nominis genuerat, qui, "divitiis regni cor non apponens, sed sub Christi veneratione peregrinationem eligens, "S. Petri beneficia petiturus, Romam adire decrevit. Præmisit autem regi Galliæ, per "cujus regiones erat transiturus, legatos; quibus non pacem sed comminationes referentibus, "tamen vir Deo devotus, timorem Domini timori hominum anteponens, præmissum mortem "inire elegit quam decretâ peregrinatione abstinere. Huic socius aderat vir venerabilis "vitæ Liphardus, B. Onastancii Londriarum præsulis, (quam summâ veneratione dignantur "Angli,) germanus, ipse Cantorbiæ pontifex, in hoc regis itinere divini officii et sanctæ "exhortationis minister. Cuius vitæ ordinem sui compatriotæ celebrant, et novissimorum eius "apud nos gesta insignia pristinæ sanctitatis argumenta esse possunt. Hi ergo cum im- "mensâ fidelium multitudine in adversarii finis transvecti, prinaquam rei fama impios aures

"At the time when Dagobert held the empire of Gaul, King "Cadruelis gave laws to the English nations. Against him the "king of Gaul was inflamed with so great rage, that he exercised "his cruelty as much as ever he could; and prepared his mind "for greater things if ever an occasion should be given. That "Cadruelis had begotten a son of the same name, who, not "setting heart on the riches of a kingdom, but preferring a "pilgrimage in veneration of Christ, determined to visit Rome "to seek the benefits of S. Peter. He sent, however, before him "ambassadors to the king of Gaul, through whose territories he "was to pass; and, although they brought back not peace but "menaces, the man devoted to God, setting the fear of the Lord "before the fear of men, preferred to encounter threatened death, "than to abstain from the pilgrimage on which he had resolved. "To him was companion Liphard, a man of venerable life, "himself bishop of Canterbury, minister of the divine office and "of holy exhortation in this journey of the king, brother of "Blessed Onastantius, whom the Angles consider worthy of the "highest veneration. His compatriots celebrate the order of his "life; and the famous acts of his end amongst us may be proofs "of his pristine sanctity. These therefore, conveyed to the "borders of the enemy with an immense multitude of the "faithful, passed over before the report of the affair touched "wicked ears; but fury, determined on destruction, chafes at the "delay, saying,—'Though they have escaped us as they went, "'neither our negligence nor their cleverness in keeping out of "'the way shall deliver them as they come back.' Spies, there- "fore, to watch their return were despatched in every direction; "and when they had fulfilled their vow and were on the point of "regaining their fatherland, as they had reached the forest of "Arida Gamantia, the ministers of iniquity spring up together,

"tangeret, transierunt. Furor vero ad ruinam præceps, dilatione ingemit, dicens 'Et licet "'nos abeuntes fefellerunt, redeuntes tamen non liberabet ulla nostrave segnities vel eorum "'vitabunda sagacitas.' Missis igitur circumquaque ministris qui illorum reditum obser- "varent, cum expleto voto illi iam in patriam reverterentur, ut ad nemora Aridæ Gamantiæ "ventum est, satellites iniquitatis consurgunt, truccidant universos, inter quos et B. Lifordum "præsulem, Deum invocantum, martyrio consummarunt. Cuius corpus ab incolis cuiusdam "ruris quod Trescaltum appellatur, sub quodam arbore sepultum est."

"and kill them all; and amongst them they consummated with "martyrdom the blessed bishop Lifard invoking God. His body "was buried under a tree by the inhabitants of a district which is "called Trescaltum." This story, at first sight, presents certain difficulties, but they disappear completely on close investigation; and in seeking their solution, we are encouraged by the consciousness that we are dealing with the history of a real person, the tangible contemporary evidence of whose existence is before us, accompanied by the circumstance that it was found in the neighbourhood of the city of which he is said to have been bishop.

For the time of this story, the lowest limit is the death of Dagobert I, A.D. 638. From our own chronicles we have learned nothing as yet of hostilities between him and the kings of the Britons of this island; but he was engaged in a war with Judicael, king of the Armoric Britons, between whose family and theirs there were most intimate relations. This war was ended by the submission of Judicael in 635.

Cadruelis, who "gave laws to the English nations," is undoubtedly the illustrious Cadwallawn, the Cadvalla of Ven. Bæda's history, King of Gwynedd. His father, Cadvan, bears the proud title,—*catamanus rex sapientisimus opinatisimus omnium regum*,—on his tombstone at Llangadwalader in Anglesey; and he who probably caused this epitaph to be written,—apparently asserting for his father precisely that pre-eminence amongst the Kings of the Britons which is ascribed to him in the *Brut*,—struggled earnestly until the day of his death to maintain for himself that pre-eminence. In fourteen battles, it is said, and sixty skirmishes, with few reverses, he extended his influence over the Angle and Saxon states of the south, Kent alone excepted; and he completed his work by the overthrow of Eadwine in 633, and the conquest of Northumbria in 634; seeming thus to inaugurate a restoration of the British ascendancy. In this, according to the *Brut*, he was assisted by the King of the Armoric Britons, at whose court he had been brought up.

Now, in the year before his victory over Eadwine, "The block-

"ade of King Catguallaun in Glannauc island,"* is recorded in the *Annals of Cambria.*

As the island, now Priestholm, is but small, this seems to indicate that he was assailed by a fleet; and as there is no probability that any one of the Angle states was in a condition to carry on naval warfare, the statements in our story about the hostility of Dagobert appear to be supported.

The next notice, which belongs to the year 633,—"Guidgar "comes and does not return,"†—compared with the following passage, from a MS. chronicle of the events of Dagobert's war with the Britons, belonging to the chapter of S. Briene, in Bretagne, —"Guido, count of Chartres, captured by the Britons,"‡—makes this clearer, as it presents Franks and insular Britons undeniably in conflict.

How strangely these little fragments of history come together to confirm this part of our story!

Cadwallaun fell, his army was routed, and the power of the Britons shattered for ever, on the height of Heavenfield, near Hexham, in 635. We cannot overlook the coincidence of Judicael's submission, when Cadwallaun's overthrow deprived him of all prospect of assistance from Britain.

Then let us observe the verisimilitude of the statement, that the son of Cadruelis requested from Dagobert the favour of an unmolested passage through his dominions. When he knew that peace was made, he might well presume so far. Yet Dagobert, under whose protection the son and grandson of Eadwine were then living, was scarcely likely to extend this favour to the son of Cadwallaun; and, though he had settled the continental reckoning, he was pleased to regard the insular account as still outstanding.

The prince, however, has vowed a pilgrimage, and go he will in spite of Dagobert's threats. He sets forth, accompanied by a host, whose numbers enabled them to pursue their journey

* "Obsessio Catguollaun regis in insula Glannauc."

† "Guidgar venit et non redit, Kal. Januar."

‡ "Guido comes Carnotensis a Britannis captus." *Guido* for *Guidgar* is an instance of the very common practice of abbreviating Teutonic names.

unmolested; but their enemies are prepared for them as they return. On their way to the nearest ports of embarkation for England they are obliged to pass through the northern province of Dagobert's kingdom, and they are encountered and slaughtered in the forest of Ardennes, between the Sambre and the Scheldt.

The Sambre, I cannot doubt, is intended in the following passage of the *Annals of Cambria*. It belongs to the year after the battle of Heavenfield, A.D. 636 :—"Slaughter of Sabrina and "murder of Judris."* For the corresponding notices, in the *Annals of Ulster and Tighearnach* :—"Battle of Judris, King of "the Britons,"† and "Battle of Judruis, King of the Britons, who "fell therein,"‡—show that Judris or Judruis was the successor of Cadwallaun. Our story, therefore, is confirmed as to the fact that such a successor perished there, in a hostile encounter; whilst the difference of the name may be accounted for by supposing that an earlier MS. was injured in this place, and that the copyist, seeing the remains of a resemblance —*dru*—, concluded that the father and son had the same name. Now the fact that a son of Cadwallaun actually made a pilgrimage from which he did not return to Britain, throws unexpected light on the successive corruption of the history of Cadwalader, a later prince of this family.

Writing early in the ninth century, Nennius mentions a king of Gwynedd, Catgobail, who withdrew his army during the night before the battle, and so, alone of all the kings of the Britons, escaped the slaughter of Winwæd field, A.D. 655; for which he was stigmatised as "Catguommedd," ("battle avoider.") Then, speaking of Oswin, son of Æthelfrith, he says,—"Whilst he "reigned, a mortality of men came, Catgualart reigning amongst "the Britons after his father, and in it he perished."§ The pestilence of the reign of Oswin was in 664; so that the natural inference would be that Catgualart was son of the king who avoided battle nine years before.

The earliest MS. of the *Annals of Cambria*, of the tenth

* "Strages Sabrinæ et jugulatio Judris." † "Bellum Judris regis Britonum."
‡ "Cath Judruis ri Breton qui in eo cecidit."
§ "Osguid filius Eadlfrid Dum ipse regnabat venit mortalitas hominum, Catguolart "regnante apud Britones post patrem suum, et in ea periit."

century (apparently the first attempt of a Cambrian Briton to reduce scattered notes and traditions into chronological order), says,—"There was a great mortality in Britain, in which "Catgualart son of Catguolaun died."*

Instead of "in which, &c." the later MSS. of the thirteenth century have these remarkable variations :—(1) "for which Cad- "waladir, son of Catwallaun, fled to Less Britain ;"† (2) "and "King Cadwalladir abandoned Britain, and went to the Armoric "region."‡ In all it is placed under the year corresponding to A.D. 682, and appears to refer to the pestilence of the year 681 ; and this is the date with which the *Brut y Tywysogion* (also of the thirteenth century) begins. "Six hundred and eighty-one "was the year of Christ when the great mortality happened over "all Britain, and in that year Kadwaladyr the blessed, son of "Cadwallawn, son of Catuan, king of the Britons, died at Rome "on the 12th of May."

The different versions of the *Brut* agree in saying, that Cadwaladir went to Armorica at the time of the pestilence, that he purposed returning to Britain, but was supernaturally warned to abandon his intention, and that he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and died there. But in all their variations for the date of his death,—12th May, 687 or 688, 12th December, 688, 12th Kal. May, 689,—they betray the fact, that they are confounding him with the West Saxon King Ceadwealh, whose pilgrimage to Rome, and death there on the day last mentioned, are indisputable historic facts.

In these variations we see a gradual development of the story :—(1) Cadwaladir dies of a pestilence, apparently in Britain, and in 664 ; (2) he is represented as a son of Cadwallaun ; (3) he goes to Armorica to avoid the pestilence ; (4) he proceeds to Rome, and dies there. All this is satisfactorily accounted for by the supposition that the compilers of these annals had cognizance of three distinct traditions :—(1) That a son of Cadwallaun went

* "Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia in quæ Catgualart filius Catguolaum obiit."

† "Pro quâ Cadwaladir filius Catwallaun in Minorem Britanniam amfugit."

‡ "Et Cadwalladir rex Britanniam dereliquit et ad Armoricam regionem perrexit."

on a pilgrimage to Rome, from which he did not return to Britain; (2) that Cadwaladir died of the pestilence; (3) that Ceadwealh went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and there died.

The historic facts will be:—A.D. 636, Judruis, son of Cadwallaun, king of Gwynedd, slain on the banks of the Sambre, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome; 664, Cadwaladir, king of Gwynedd, died of the pestilence in Britain; 689, Ceadwealh, king of the West Saxons, &c.

So far, then, from being in any way opposed to historic truth, our story enables us to explain, in a way altogether unexpected, the fragmentary notices in the *Annals of Cambria*, and the *Chronicle of S. Briene*, and the corrupt developments of the history of Cadwaladir; and so encourages us to enter on a calm investigation of the startling circumstances,—that Onastantius and Lifardus, brothers, were bishops respectively of London and Canterbury, at a time when Ven. Bæda represents the see of London as vacant, and that of Canterbury as occupied by Honorius.

The writer speaks of the memory of each as holden in veneration by the Angles of his day; and the phrase *Anglicis gentibus* seems to refer the original composition of this story to the time when England was divided into several kingdoms. Yet no writer of the Anglo-Saxon age, as far as we know, handed down even their names to the chroniclers of Norman times. Of the period in which they must have lived Ven. Bæda is almost the only historian; his information was very imperfect with regard to Southumbrian affairs; and, on more than one occasion, I have had the opportunity of supplementing it from unimpeachable sources.

I must first remark, that the name Onastantius is an indication of imperfection in the original MS., like what I have noticed in the case of Judruis, and was probably Constantius. Then, as far as he is concerned, the fact that he is introduced at all, although in no way necessary to the story, is a striking mark of its truth. It cannot be supposed that the writer could have invented such a personage, or have said, by way of explaining

who Lifard was, that he was brother of a personage of whom his readers had never heard. So there is good reason to believe that there were other traditions of Constantius bishop of London.

Mellitus was expelled from the see of London by the sons of Sæberht in 617; and, after they had fallen in conflict with the West Saxons, their successors would not allow him to return, for they did not recognise the supremacy of Kent, as Sæberht had done.*

Ven. Bæda leads us to suppose that nothing was done for the conversion of the East Saxons for thirty-six years, for he had no information as to their history during that period.

There are doubtless fragments of truth, though much confused and mixed with error, in that part of the *Brut* which professes to relate the history of Cadvan and Cadwallaun, and their connection with Eadwine of Northumbria; and I believe that the East Saxons were acting under the influence of Cadwallaun, (whom the *Brut* represents as paramount south of the Humber, as Eadwine was beyond.) Then on Cadwallaun would devolve the duty of providing a bishop, for the sake of the British Christians especially, if not for the conversion of the Saxons; a successor to Theon, who fled from his see into Wales, not many years before S. Augustine came. For Constantius, therefore, there is room. With Lifard, the case is altogether different, for the see of Canterbury was undoubtedly filled by Honorius from A.D. 627 to 654.

It must be remarked, however, that there were occasionally two bishops in one see. At the synod of Arles, A.D. 314, there were two from London, Restitutus and Adelfius. At the synod of Paris, A.D. 614, there were two from Lisieux, two from Besançon, and two from Toulouse; and at the synod of Bourdeaux, A.D. 663, there were two from Conserans. There must have been two archbishops of Lyons, who were murdered in 657, for the strictly contemporary "Vita S. Wilfridi," names Dalfinus, who had adopted S. Wilfrith as his son; and equally trustworthy

* "Non enim tanta erat ei (sc. Eadbaldo) quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam "nolentibus et contradicientibus paganis antistitem suæ posset ecclesiæ reddere." H.E. ii, 6.

Frankish evidence names Annemund. At the synod of Clofeston, A.D. 742, the following bishops were present (I supply in parenthesis the names of their sees) :—Cuthberht (Canterbury), Unita (Lichfield), Torhthelm (Leicester), Wilfrith (Worcester), Cuthberht, Huetlac, Eanfrith (Helmham), Egclaf (Dummuc), Alning (Sidnachester), Hunwald, Daniel (Winchester), Aldnulf (Rochester), Æthelfrith (Helmham), Hereunald (Sherburne), Sicga (Selsey), Rednulf.

The province comprised the metropolitan, and twelve suffragan sees. Yet here there are sixteen, although Ingwald of London is absent, and there is no one to represent Hereford. Helmham appears to be represented by two ; so that if we allow one of the four, whom we cannot place, to Hereford, four at least of those who were present must have been coadjutors to bishops in ordinary of the province.

In 1087 died Godwine, bishop of S. Martin's at Canterbury ; and it is said that Lanfranc considered it unbecoming that there should be more than one bishop in a city, and made it a rule that there should be no more bishops of that title. Now at Besançon, one of the cities which was represented by two bishops at the synod of Paris, there were two cathedral churches, each claiming the honour of maternity, until they were united in the thirteenth century. So the tradition is very probable, that S. Martin's, a church in which the divine worship had been interrupted for a short time only, if interrupted at all, and where a bishop had sitten for years before S. Augustine's coming, was honoured by a succession of bishops from the time of Theodore ; and it is possible that this succession commenced earlier, even from the death of Liudhard ; although Christchurch, another relic of the earlier Christianity of Britain, had been preferred for the metropolitan dignity. If we find no notice of them in history except this one, we may be reminded that there is no instance, but the one above mentioned, of two bishops having represented Besançon in synod together ; and of the extreme rarity of monuments of bishops "*in partibus*," although the bishops themselves were by no means rare. As the bishops who attest charters rarely

add the names of their sees, it is impossible to distinguish such as these from the rest. One, perhaps, was present at Clofeston in 743; and Frignunald, Alric, and Tatnoth, who attested charters of Osric and Oshere, princes of the Heviccas, and Berhtnulf, king of the Mercians,* may have been coadjutors respectively of the archbishops Theodore, Berhtwold, and Ceolnoth.

One clear instance, however, we have, not indeed of a bishop of S. Martin's expressly, but of a plurality in the see of Canterbury. We have an undoubtedly genuine charter,† dated 28th August, 831, attested by archbishop Walfred. Under the year 829, MS. F. of the *English Chronicle* says—

"Abbot Felogild was chosen after him to the archbishop's "throne, 7 Kal. May, and he was hallowed 5 Id. June, on a "Sunday, and he died 3 Kal. September."

This MS. contains several notices of Kentish affairs which the others have not; but the note, "Sunday, 5 Id. June," belongs to the year 827. Felogild, therefore, was consecrated four years and more before Walfred died.

All the other MSS. agree in the following statement:—

"An. DCCCXXX. Here Ceolnoth was chosen to be bishop "and ordained, and abbot Felogild died."

MS. F. has, in Latin—"eligitur in archiepiscopatum Cantiæ, "III Kal. Julii, et consecratur eodem anno VI Kal. Septembris."

Thus Ceolnoth was chosen "bishop" after Felogild's consecration, and consecrated three days before Felogild died. If Felogild was coadjutor to Walfred, surely Ceolnoth would be bishop of S. Martin's; but he too received the pallium before Walfred's death, for there is a charter attested by Walfred and Ceolnoth together,‡ each as archbishop, and the abbots and clergy of the church of Canterbury.

Now that we have seen what were the possibilities of a plurality of bishops at Canterbury, let us go back to the beginning of the history of the metropolitan see, and enquire what was the probability of a plurality at the time of our story. When S. Augustine

* C. D. XII, XXXVI, LXXVIII. † C. D. CCXXVII. ‡ C. D. CCXXV.

had received consecration from the bishop of Arles, S. Gregory urged him to consecrate bishops in neighbouring places as soon as possible, so that three bishops at least, or four, might assist in future consecrations. Liudhard was already at hand; and we may believe that S. Augustine and he consecrated Laurence at once, so as to make up the needful number, three, without assigning to him any separate diocese, but designating him as successor at Canterbury. In 604, the dioceses of London and Rochester were established, and Mellitus and Justus consecrated for them.

Now the first Kentish charter* is dated in that year, 28th April, and it is undoubtedly genuine. Æthelberht grants land to the church of Rochester, where Justus is bishop, "with the counsel "of bishop Laurence and of all my princes." Why is there no mention of S. Augustine? Because he is at Canterbury, which Æthelberht has given up to him; and Æthelberht keeps his court at Reculvers, Laurence residing with him.

There are now five bishops; two at Canterbury, and one each at Reculvers, Rochester, and London; and in the event of one dying there will be four to consecrate another. S. Gregory's instruction is fully carried out.

In Register B. of the chapter of S. Paul's, London, there is an abstract of a later charter of Æthelberht.† The first clause abridges the words of the grant in a narrative form, and I see no reason why it may not represent a genuine original. It concludes in what may be regarded as the actual words—

"Ego episcopus Mellitus una cum rego Æthelberto Hunfridum "episcopum subscribere rogavi.

"Signum manus Hunfridi episcopi ✠ Signum manus Letharii "episcopi ✠ &c."

Here Letharius appears to represent Liudhard. Hunfrid must be a Frankish bishop, come over to help Mellitus.

Now, passing over about twenty years, on the death of Justus, A.D. 627, we find, (as far as Ven. Bæda's information goes), only

* C D. I. † C. D. DCCCCLXXXII.

one bishop left in Britain, Paulinus,* consecrated to the see of York two years before. Beside him, the only survivor of the disciples of S. Gregory and associates of S. Augustine is Honorius, who meets him at Lincoln to be consecrated to Canterbury. Surely there is great need of bishops here, if only to fill up S. Gregory's required number; yet Ven. Bæda has nothing to tell us of anything done. Birinus comes in 634, seeking only a field to labour in, and he is at once sent away to preach to the West Saxons, as if there were no need of him in Kent; and Paulinus, a fugitive from York, is placed in the vacant see of Rochester, about the same time. Is Honorius wanting in the zeal which characterized S. Augustine? Not so, if we accept our story as evidence that there were two bishops besides, Constantius and Lifard, of whom Ven. Bæda knew nothing. With them there would be three bishops at the consecration of Honorius, which then would make up the number four; in 634 there would be five; and in 636, when S. Felix came, and was sent to the East Angles, six. So not only is there room for them, they are actually needed to fill up the number required by S. Gregory's instructions.

How beautifully consistent, too, with all this is the statement that Lifard went on pilgrimage in 635 or 6, after the arrival of Paulinus in Kent rendered his assistance less urgently necessary to Honorius. Indeed, every circumstance seems to combine to establish the probability that Lifard was associated with Honorius at Canterbury, and was bishop of the very church within whose precincts this precious coin was found.

At the synod of Rheims, A.D. 625, Leobardus, bishop of Nantes, subscribes the last in order, as if he were the youngest bishop there. He appears once more, for the last time, at the synod of Clichy, A.D. 626. At another synod of Clichy, A.D. 633, his diocese is not represented; but at the synod of Paris, A.D. 638, Taurinus, his successor, subscribes in the second place, as if he were the oldest bishop but one, and that one is Palladius

* As we have had occasion to speak, now and then, of British Christians at this time, we may advert to the fact that Paulinus, who was associated with S. Augustine by S. Gregory in 601, was himself a Briton, according to a respectable British tradition. Nennius says that his name was Run and his father's Urbgen.

of Auxerne, who was consecrated in 622; and he is followed by Eligius, who was one of the senior bishops in the synod of 633. It follows that Leobardus had vacated the see of Nantes, and that Taurinus had succeeded him many years before 638.

There is, therefore, nothing unreasonable in the supposition, that he had left his Armorican flock in order to take part in the labours of Justus, and perhaps especially on behalf of the British population in Kent. To him and his brother,—and we see now an additional reason for supposing that the latter had come to Britain under the auspices of Cadwallaun,—the British prince Judruis would be more naturally attracted than to the associates and disciples of S. Augustine.

Thus the whole story is proved to be beautifully consistent with the circumstances of the time; and, supported by the evidence of this invaluable coin, it enables us to add a little chapter to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Ven. Bæda, and two names, Constantius and Lifard, Franks, to those of Felix the Burgundian, and Birinus the Longobard, men who forsook more pleasant fields of labour at home to evangelize our forefathers. More still than this, it confirms our confidence in the document contained in the Register of St. Paul's, and warrants us in bringing to light the forgotten name of one who probably prepared the way for them, and whose example they followed—Bishop Hunfrid.

# THE RURAL LIFE OF A LANCASHIRE MINISTER 150 YEARS AGO.

*By James Bromley, Esq.*

(Read April 1st, 1880.)

IN the session of 1878 I exhibited before this Society a MS. volume containing, besides other interesting matter, historical records of current events in Scotland during the rebellion of 1715, and an account of the curriculum and criticisms of the professors at Glasgow University, in a period of which (as I am assured by Professor Veitch) the Collegiate records are extremely meagre.

This information is unpublished, and I hope to contribute during a future session a paper founded on the contents of the volume. As an introduction to this, it seems appropriate that I should first give some account of the transcriber, the Rev. Peter Walkden, a Presbyterian minister, to whose industrious pen we owe many interesting illustrations of the rural life of his period in North Lancashire.

Some years ago Mr. William Dobson, of Preston, published extracts from two small vols. of Mr. Walkden's MS. diaries, that had been discovered in the rubbish heap of a cottage in the forest of Bowland. I shall have occasion to make use of the records in the diaries to illustrate my paper, but the biographical appendix of Mr. Dobson is so inaccurate, that it is desirable it should be supplemented with authentic information collected from MSS. to which he had not access.

Peter Walkden was born in the vicinity of Manchester,

October 16th, 1684; he appears to have been one of a large family, several of whom settled in the vicinity of their birthplace, and were in comfortable, if not affluent, circumstances. He seems to have attended a village school till 1706, when he was removed to "y^e^ famous school of Manchester," where he studied under the Rev. James Cunningham till 1709, in which year, on the 1st of May, he entered on his first cure in the Presbyterian ministry, at Garsdale, Yorkshire, where he was stationed till the close of 1711.

He was twice married, and brought up a family of eight children. His first wife was buried inside his own chapel at Hesketh Lane; and his second wife's maiden name appears to have been Woodworth.

From Garsdale he removed to a farm in the hamlet of Thornley, near Chipping, in which neighbourhood he remained for sixteen years; and it is to this period of his life we owe the diary that gives us a microscopical insight of the life and labours of a pious country clergyman,

> "Whose hum'rous vein, strong sense, and simple style,
> "May teach the gayest, make the gravest smile."

George Dawson, in his lecture on "Old Books," speaking of the chit-chat of ages ago, says—"Contemporary gossip is con-"temptible; the gossip of two hundred years ago is charming. "The fly when it has got into the amber is worth its weight in "gold; but the fly before it gets into the amber is a pestilence "and a nuisance." And this is only half the truth. Not only do such diaries as the one we are dealing with afford piquant entertainment to the casual reader, but they are some of the most interesting byepaths of history, in which the student may gather illustrations of the social life and manners of auld lang syne. Though separated from us by the distance of worlds, the men of past ages seem, in the witching phantasy conjured by their own quaint records, to again live and move and have their being.

It must not be inferred that such poverty and laborious hardships as I shall relate were peculiar to the nonconformist clergy

of that period. The record of the life of Mr. Walkden's contemporary, the Rev. Robert Walker of Seathwaite, known as "Wonderful Walker," (a MS. sermon by whom I have exhibited to this Society,) is sufficient proof that the rural ministers of all denominations in the ill-endowed districts of Lancashire were only able to provide the commonest necessaries of life by continuous manual labour. That the ministerial stipend of a vicar of the established Church should have been "£5 a-year and a "house," may seem incredible; but it is nevertheless true that it was the value of "Wonderful Walker's" first cure; and that he was obliged to eke out a scanty subsistence by hiring himself out to his parishioners as an agricultural labourer.

Let us first take a preparatory survey of the physical aspect of the district in which the diarist lived, and the mode of life of its inhabitants.

Watered by the Hodder and its tributary streams, and enclosed on three sides by Longridge and the fells that separate Lancashire from Yorkshire, the hilly country around Chipping is still uninvaded by railways, and lies away from the frequented highways which were then the commercial arteries of the country, whereon strings of pack-horses carried the goods traffic. Even these were, as an unfortunate tourist of the period observed, "infernal roads," composed of a very narrow "causeway,"* flanked on each side by boggy greensward, whereon most of the few carriages that traversed them stuck fast when passing any vehicle that had possession of the paved road. Burns, writing about this time, gives us a ludicrous conception of

> "—— the narrow causey of a street,
> "Whaur twa wheelbarrows tremble when they meet."

The intersecting roads were mainly green lanes. One of the best in the district was the old Roman road over Longridge, known as Stoneygate Lane, by reason of its superior foundation. Along these, vehicular travelling was in wet weather impossible; indeed there were then few carts—produce being mostly conveyed

* Causeway, the paved portion of road, generally about 5ft. wide.

on a kind of sledge called a "coupe;"* and only the wealthiest kept coaches. As a consequence the district in which our diarist lived was practically isolated; "far from the madding crowd's "ignoble strife," its inhabitants heard little of the political intrigues and Jacobite insurrections of the time. Nor were the nearest large towns much better off for news. It is stated in the diary that during more than a week one day's papers only arrived in Preston. The postal arrangements were loose and irregular, letters were frequently lost in transit, or so delayed as to defy calculation of delivery.

The land was undrained and the larger part uncultivated, being unenclosed moor and morass, whilst in winter the low lands were mostly flooded. One of the diarist's horses sank in a bog on his own farm, and on being raised went down again, "the bog "was so soft," until finally got out by placing bundles of straw under it. As a consequence of the want of drainage and neglect of sanitary arrangements, we have frequent records of the ravages of such epidemics as fevers and agues, whilst diseases were aggravated by extraordinary ignorance of dietary rules. Thus we find a Samaritan of the period gave away portions of a distempered cow amongst the poor. One man who "fetched a quarter of her, "as also the head and nombles,"† swelled in the eyes and throat and then died, and all who partook of it were purged and disordered.

The isolation of this district accounts for some of the primitive wants and ways of its inhabitants. The current of currency did not flow in this direction; it was almost impossible to obtain change for a gold coin, and difficult to get it for a shilling; even want of "brass" or copper coin is frequently recorded in the diary. The financial equipoise of the little community seems to have been maintained by a system of deferred payments; stock and produce were bartered amongst themselves, or sold to the "badger,"‡ on the "give day"§ principle, the appointed pay day being usually some saint day or festival of the Church. Even the

* Coupe, a kind of agricultural sledge. † Nombles, the entrails.
‡ The Badger—The local agricultural broker. § Give day—Give credit to a specified day.

barter of labour, "help for help again," was a very ordinary custom, and when a difference arose on the subject, it was sometimes settled by measurement. Thus the diarist writes, "we "concluded to get John Dickenson to measure our ground we "had plowed mean."* Goods of all kinds were conveyed by means of pack-saddled horses, market stuff being so taken to Preston and Lancaster, and even coals brought from Enfield. Mr. Walkden hired out his horses for so "leading"† single and double loads, the charge for the former being sixpence per day. Beef was sometimes sold by the foot, and spirits by aliquot parts of the famous "Black Jack."‡ We find frequently in the diary such items as "a foot of his cow in beef," and "I had half a "jack of spirits, 1½d." The builder's notions did not soar above his neighbours. Houses, like stacks, were commonly thatched or roofed with turf and sods, and the diarist himself got an old churn fixed on his house for a chimney, Indeed the trades were considerably mixed. "Jack of all trades" was master of the situation; for we find the same men acting as tailors, barbers, ditchers, and delvers, though the barbering department was perhaps the most profitable. It was the age of wigs and perukes, and the man with a quick growing head of hair possessed a small fortune; indeed, compared with the prices then ruling for produce, red-haired people reaped, in more senses than one, golden crops. As an instance, fresh butter, now selling at over 2s. per lb., was then 3½d.; but we read "Brother§ Miller selling "his hair to John Shankland for 5s. and a cravat. I stayed "while the hair was cut off." The village cross was the authorised place for making proclamations, and selling strangers' goods. We read that a travelling Scot,‖ stricken with mortal illness by

* Plowed mean—One farmer's ploughing on his neighbour's farm, bartered for the other's on his own.

† Leading—A term originally applied to pack-saddle loads, now to most kinds of agricultural carting.

‡ The Black Jack—A leathern jug, the name probably derived from its similarity to a jack boot, usually hung up in couples "Jack and Gill," that furnished the idea of the old nursery rhyme. There is also the old Oxford song—

"Each took a smack of the cold black jack."

§ Brother—One of his Church "brethren" only.

‖ Travelling Scot—A pedlar, "the Scotchman."

the road side, was taken into an adjacent cottage, where, "in the "sight of several witnesses," his money was counted, and the contents of his "budget"* inventoried. Though wishful to be moved to a lodging house he knew further on, he, with grim puritanical fervour, declined assistance on "the Lord's day," as he did the suggested services of "priest or vicar," because he was a presbyterian. He died next day, and the overseer and constable, who seem to have been the vicar's officers, "prized"† his personalities, procured him a handsome coffin, "fetched the "rathes,"‡ and buried him in Mitton churchyard. The schoolmaster "clarked"§ whilst the constable sold his goods at the cross, discharged the house‖ where he died, and the other funeral expenses, out of the proceeds of the sale, and then presented his accounts and the balance to the relatives.

During Mr. Walkden's residence in this district, the palatine county was the focus for the Jacobite intriguers of the age. Party spirit ran riot, and culminated in religious persecution. Many of the dissenting chapels were attacked by mobs, and some of them destroyed, whilst several of the diarist's early friends suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake. His brother and his neighbours sent two teams of five horses each—probably requisitioned for commissariat purposes—to the assistance of the king's forces at Preston fight, when the rout of the Pretender's army gave the distracted country a short period of repose. It is probable that the charitable spirit that distinguishes the entries in his diary,—not a single one having the slightest tinge of sectarian bitternesss,—and his equable temperament preserved himself and his little flock from the dangers that were rife in his immediate neighbourhood. Indeed it is evident his own multifarious occupations could leave little leisure for indulgence in political strife. We are, however, left to draw this inference, as if he kept a diary during this turbulent period, it has not been discovered;

* Budget—The pedlar's pack. † Prized—Appraised.
‡ The rathes—The bier. The loose frames of a hay cart are still called "rathes."
§ Clarked—Acted as auction clerk.
‖ Discharged the house—Paid the lodging-house keeper's account.

the one which furnishes the material for our paper being for part of the interval between the rebellions of '15 and '45.

Mr. Walkden's orthography is frequently vague and unruly. The quaint conceits of his diction, redolent of provincialisms, piety, precision, and unintended humour, are indicative of the narrow border line between the sublime and the ridiculous. There were then no recognised rules of language; the 's he frequently omitted altogether, as "James Bradley sale," whilst he used the apostrophe after "a," as "9 a'clock." On one page of his diary we find the same name written Rowland, Randle, Ranald, and Raynald. His sentences frequently began with "So," as "So "being for Lancaster, &c.;" and he ended his reckoning with the curiously expressive phrase, "So we are clear from the beginning "of the world unto this day." He mixed up his wife in a curious hotch-potch—"Then I got my boots, and pillion,* and clogs, "and mare, and my love;" and was sometimes particularly emphatic about the duration of a tavern "parl."† "I stayed "while 8d. was spent, and no longer." He always styled Preston "proud Preston," an unenviable titular dignity that survives in the rhyme—

"Proud Preston, poor people,
"High Church, and no steeple."

He used the word "admired" in an unique satirical sense; when a neighbour let him a farm for "a 11 years," and wanted it back in a few months, he "admired" the proposal; and the absolute knave, that stickles for speech by the card, will admit he well might. To most of his neighbours he gave their distinguishing addenda, as "Robert Parker de Raddam Laund,"‡ "Edward "Croasdell o'th' Inkleing Green," &c. This common Lancashire practice is ludicrously satirized by Tim Bobbin in such names as "Jammy's o' George's o' Peter's ith' Dingles."

The diarist compiled an elaborate index at the end of each year's entries, and was in advance of the majority of his country-

* Pillion—A cushioned saddle for two.
† Parl—A discussion; hence parliament, &c. (Shakesperean.)
‡ Laund—A cultivated tract surrounded by trees; a park.

men in his adoption of the new style of calendarial calculation, the present apportionment of the year not being generally in vogue till 1752; he, however, now and then half reverted to the old one, marking a date between January 1st and March 24th as "1727/8."

Nearly every entry shows the strong religious bias of the diarist's mind; the alpha and omega of each year's entries are, with little variation, as follows:—"A diary, Wherein is contained "a summary of my daily transactions, or a true account where, "in what, and how I spend my time daily; together with what's "said or done remarkable each day either by myself or other "with whom I converse. Done to be a mirror to view my life "and actions in, that I may know how I walk, and how to "humble my soul before God, and when to rejoice in the good-"ness of my God." And:—"Thus ended the year in health, "peace, and comfort, Lord, forgive the sins of it, and give me "grace to begin and spend the new year more to the honour of "God, the credit of his cause, the edification of my congregation "and family, and the eternal felicity of my own immortal soul, "which God of his mercy grant, for my dear Redeemer's "sake, to whom, with the Father and Holy Ghost, be praises "throughout all ages, world without end. Amen." Even the closing entry of the day's transactions is in this strain. "I "prayed in my family, and I retired into my lodging room,* and "commended my all to God, and lay down beside my love, and "slept well, blessed be God."

The diarist lived at that period on a small farm in Thornley, a sparsely populated hamlet on the slope of Longridge Fell, three miles distant from one of his chapels and five from the other. The name of the house, Daub Hall, indicates its structural characteristic—brickwork covered with plaster between timber framing, or technically a "post and pan" erection, probably dating from the Jacobean era. Here he found active employment in agricultural labour, and hence set out to his pastoral duties at the dissenters' chapels at Hesketh Lane near Chipping,

* Lodging room here means his usual bed room.

and Newton near Slaidburn, in the forest of Bowland—about eight miles distant from each other—on alternate Sundays; to occasional services in a preaching-room in the village of Chipping, and special celebrations at each at particular times. Both chapels are unpretentious stone buildings; that at Newton, having about sixty sittings, bore the date of its erection, 1696, and is the only one now used for worship. The Hesketh Lane chapel had accommodation for about forty worshippers—it stood in an enclosed croft, and over the door lintel was rudely carved the year of its foundation, 1705, and the text, now quite illegible, "Luke vii, 5, "For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue." The gravestone floor has been boarded over, and it is now used as an undenominational school, but its identity with the diarist survives in the nomenclature of the spot on the ordnance survey, "Walkden's Lane End." Each chapel possessed a small endowment of landed property, and the ministerial stipends were augmented by a sort of rate known as "quarterage," paid by the worshippers after harvest at Lammas, Michaelmas, Martinmas, and Candlemas, probably on account of their poverty; though on what principle it was levied is not apparent. Mr. Walkden received a donation of 35s. from one London society for the assistance of poor clergymen, and £7 from another, through a Mr. Gowland of Gray's Inn, besides a gift from the trustees of Lord Wharton's charity, from a Mr. Hartley of Hartford, near Richmond, Yorkshire. On one occasion he benefited under a nuncupative will to the extent of 10s., this being "attested and "revealed" by one of his own flock—testamentary disposition by word of mouth being legal till 1837. He received several small legacies willed by deceased members of his flock; perquisites for funeral sermons, baptisms, &c.; occasional presents of beef and apparel, and the remnants of the "arvell."*

The theological dogma taught in these chapels changed with the times. Though not built until after the passing of the Toleration Act, they sheltered the disciples of the ejected ministers of 1662; and the pulpits were occupied by both Independent and

* Arvell—The funeral dinner.

Presbyterian preachers, who after a time succumbed to the growing influence of the broader or "new light" school of thinkers, and gave place to Unitarian pastors.

The congregations dwelt in scattered habitations, many of them came long distances to worship, and found the requisite refreshment for themselves and accommodation for their horses at the adjacent inns; hence the inevitable justification for Defoe's satirical epigram :—

"Where God erects a house of prayer,
"The Devil builds a chapel there."

The parson himself, who came as I have before said from a considerable distance, and put his mare to grass in the chapel yard during service, appears to have frequently been a guest at Belial's table, seldom missing an opportunity of drinking "a penny "pot o' ale" and smoking a pipe, preparatory to commencing his ministerial duties, and now and then cooling his parched throat after his usual discourse of an hour and a half's duration.

We have very inadequate information respecting the attendance at the chapels; only one entry, and that the record of a wet Sunday, gives the number of worshippers as nine; "there were "but few" seems to be the reason for this exceptional entry, which justifies the inference that this number was much below the average. The parson appears to have worn a gown, and the order of morning service on Sundays was invariably as follows :— prayer, selected readings from first the Old and then the New Testament, psalmody, prayer again, sermon, private meditation, hymn, benediction. Besides the regular Sunday services, which sometimes included the Communion office, the catechising of children, and baptisms—for which latter ceremony the diarist had to pay a capitation fee of 6d. per child to the vicar of the parish, though as he accounts for only six at one chapel and seven at the other during three years, it is tolerably certain that the majority of his flock used the parish church for this particular rite, as they did the churchyard for most of their interments—we have recorded prayer days, harvest and other special thanksgivings, as gunpowder plot, &c., the zeal of the dissenters for the continuance of

the protestant succession being unquestionable—"preparation" days for intending communicants, and a service on Christmas Day, though it is plain from the context that it was not held as a celebration of the nativity of Christ.

The usual routine of the diarist's ministerial duties at these places of worship appears to have been varied by an occasional exchange of pulpits with neighbouring and sometimes distant pastors, the charges of his journeys being borne by his co-religionists in the districts through which he travelled. Of his other pastoral duties we learn that he held "private days"* at his own home, and the houses of his flock. These were attended by the neighbours, some of them assisting in the spiritual duties. One such service was "for the mercy of his son Nathaniel's "restoration to 'em, after he had been lost 48 hours on the fell." He prayed, to use his own phrase, "for and with" the sick and poor, and administered the communion at their houses; held thanksgiving services at the houses of those who had recovered from sickness; took part in ordination services at Carnforth, Lancaster, Rossendale, and elsewhere; hunted up and admonished absentees from chapel; and always paid in his "briefs" (the collections in response to the begging "briefs" of the bishop of the Established Church) through the medium of the officials of the chapel at Preston—from which I infer, though the Preston congregation was so poor as to necessitate frequent appeals to his own flock on their behalf, that it possessed the mother chapel of the district.

Mr. Walkden was the peacemaker of the countryside, on one occasion settling a dispute between two publicans about a pig; and he paid friendly visits to the adjacent clergymen, his landlord and other neighbours, and frequently partook of their hospitality. From his own scanty means he dispensed alms to the poor neighbours and tramps—"his house was known to all the vagrant train," it was the roadside hospice where travellers got some refreshment and a bed. The term, "lodged with us," which meant one night's bed and food, frequently occurs in the diary; and several entries

* Private Days—Home thanksgivings for family mercies.

exhibit a charitable feeling towards his brethren of the Established Church—"a wandering straggle-brained clergyman," flying from penalties incurred by disregarding Solomon's injunction about suretyship, called and got refreshment; and Mr. Holt, "an old "itinerant mendicant preacher in the Church of England," "lodged" with him.

He conducted funeral services at what he styles the "burying-house," viz., the house in which the corpse of a co-religionist lay, sat down with the "servitors"* at "the arvell," the remnants of which, with a fee for a funeral sermon, he generally received; though one record expresses his disappointment at not being paid for such an oration. He followed the corpse from the house to the parish church, and stood before the coffin during the second service there, and at the grave side. Two entries in Mr. Walkden's diary jar on humane feeling, and shew the extremes of the ministerial laxity and narrowness of the times. "She died, and was buried "at Slaitburn† church, but without any ceremony of priest or "clerk, because she died excommunicate;" and again, "the corpse "was just at hand, but no curate to read; however the clerk "performed the office, and buried William Jenkinson."

The diarist took a leading part in the family prayers, bible readings, and psalmody practice of his own household, and frequently spent the greater part of a day in his closet, adjusting his money, labour, and loan accounts; writing his sermons, his diary, an account of his family and circumstances (which latter has not yet been discovered), and studying Matthew Henry's Commentary and other theological works.

Mr. Walkden's diary was not intended for the public eye, but as he expressly says, to be "the mirror to view his life and "actions in;" therefore, though the passing years may somewhat dim the reflex, it is not a less striking picture of his personal characteristics because of its transparent truthfulness and simplicity. We see the guide, philosopher, and friend of his flocks, braving the elemental fury of a hilly district, frequently getting

* Servitors—The funeral attendants; the mourners.
† Slaitburn—Slaidburn.

wet through, but perhaps because custom had made it in him a property of easiness, only once being compelled by severity of weather to neglect his Sabbath duties.

Under the pressure of continuous poverty, he industriously discharged his spiritual and temporal business, and with a contented mind acted out the scriptural injunction, "Whatsoever "thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." He was consequently greatly respected by his neighbours and congregations, and in consulting the latter in any important event of his life, such as renting a farm or apprenticing his children, he rivetted the chain of mutual attachment. Though the diarist lived in a secluded district, his practical piety and pulpit oratory evoked the appreciation of the Rev. Mr. Jolly, a famous nonconformist divine of the period. Mr. Walkden's early habits are conspicuous. We find him leaving home in the middle of the night to cart coals from the pits, or to do pastoral duty at some distant chapel; and going at sunrise in July to assist in stirring the fallows* of a neighbour.

The iron hand of poverty compelled him to coarse living and practical frugality, but he was always ready to give neighbourly assistance and advice, and when he had the means he lent his money and generously dispensed his alms. Nor were his sympathetic feelings confined to the sorrows of the human species, a quaintly expressed entry in the diary exhibits an affectionate interest in the welfare of his old mare—"He put a bushel of "oats into my sack, but they were very light and but small feeding "in, so I bought of him a bushel of better to mix with them, to "make them better worth the mare's labour to eat them." Mr. Walkden's family seem to have lived on bread made from their inferior barley, vegetables, milk, and small beer; but he had an Englishman's weakness for roast beef, which he occasionally humoured. Wheaten bread, tea or coffee, the now common necessaries of working men, do not appear to have found a place on his table; indeed they were then expensive luxuries, tea selling from 12s. to 30s. per lb. More than once even his usual frugal fare was not forthcoming; he dined with Duke Humphrey—

* Stirring the fallows—Ploughing up old pasture land.

"so I and my love came direct home, and got the Taylor's "supper,"* which meant nothing to eat.

Wheaten bread does not appear to have been made in the neighbouring villages, as "manchets" and "levens"† were specially brought from Preston.

The reverend gentleman wore clogs when about his farm, and got his old riding boot tops cut off to make "clock overside,"‡ and used the bottoms for house slippers. Like John Gilpin's wife, even when on pleasure bent he had a frugal mind; his records of spending when on a journey "my sixpence" or "my "eightpence" indicate that he had a fixed allowance of pocket money; but despite these thrifty habits he was sometimes reduced to monetary straits; twice he could not settle with the taxgatherer; and on other occasions his poverty, but not his will, consents to receive money on what he invariably styles "the "Lord's day." Indeed there are many instances in his diary of the poverty of himself and neighbours. I transcribe two as a sample. A neighbour offered to sell him a cow, and to give day till Candlemas. "I knew I could not pay him at his time, so "said no more, but got my mare and came to Nicholas Holden's "and Eliz. Dobson's, and told them my case, but they could not "help me;" and again, "I asked John Jackson and Thomas Fell "the lend of 40 shillings, but succeeded not, they both being "scarce of silver." It must not be inferred that there was any indisposition to lend money to the pastor, when his neighbours had any; it was, when solicited, readily lent and faithfully repaid; he and they lived on a recognised system of barter of each other's labour and produce, and of borrowing and lending cash, though the borrowing class seem to have been by far the most numerous.

Not in the absence but in the variety of occupations he found recreation and repose: thus, as an industrious husbandman, we find him loading, leading, or carting produce, manure, coals, and

* The Taylor's supper—His own goose.

† Manchets and levens—Sacramental loaves—
"Her manchets fine were quite divine."—*Ingoldsby Legends.*

‡ Clock overside—A kind of leather leggings.

turf, and "hassocks"* from the fells; marling, cutting drains, ditching, delving, "graving"† turf, "dressing"‡ his garden, the field "reins,"§ and vegetable beds; "plowing,"‖ sowing, planting, setting, getting and hoeing potatoes; laying up, sorting and cutting seedlings, weeding, gardening, pulling and stringing peas, mowing and cocking grass on his farm and "i'th chapel yard"; shearing, and reaping with women; drying oats on the limekiln, and winnowing, threshing, and "batting"¶ them, and carrying "the bats" to the barn; gleaning, "lashing,"** dressing, sorting, and sacking wheat; winnowing and putting his beans into barn and "battock;"†† "windrowing"‡‡ turf, and "dressing the mull"§§ round the turf-stack; lapping straw, stacking hay and corn; getting willow rods and making them into thatching "spelks;"‖‖ "thacking"¶¶ and sodding the stacks; cleaning, bedding, watering, "foddering,"*† and "minding his goods;"*‡ paving and "dressing" his shippon and barn; painting and mending his "swine-cote:"*§ enclosing his crofts; repairing his fences and "yates;"*‖ scraping and washing his carts; "capping" flails and repairing rakes.

He dressed and sometimes escorted his children to school, gathered "crowberries" for them on the fells, sent the school-"dame"*¶ presents of coal, wound the yarn for one of his sons who was a weaver, and sold "the web"†* at Darwen, bottomed old beds, "clerked"†‡ and kept the books of his neighbours and the tax-gatherers, and seasoned all his labours with an occasional pipe and the inevitable "penny pot o' ale."

* Hassocks—Reeds. From this material, of which the old church mats were made, the term is now applied to kneeling cushions.

† Graving—Cutting. ‡ Dressing—Putting in order.

§ Field reins—The gutter at the edge of a ploughed "butt" or breadth.

‖ Plowing—Ploughing, old spelling.

¶ Batting—Threshing the 'bats' after lashing them.

** Lashing—Striking on a horizontal bar. †† Battock—A small granary.

‡‡ Windrowing—Stacking for the wind to play through. §§ The Mull—The dust or refuse.

‖‖ Spelks—A sort of wooden double-pronged skewer. ¶¶ Thacking—Thatching.

*† Foddering—Giving provender. *‡ Goods—Cattle. *§ Swine-cote—Pig-stye.

*‖ Yates—Gates.

*¶ Albeit ne flattery did corrupt her truth,
Ne pompous title did debauch her ear,
Goody, good-woman, gossip, n'aunt, forsooth,
Or *dame*, the sole additions she did hear.—*Shenstone.*

†* Web—The woven cloth or linen. †‡ Clerked—Acted as accountant.

Pride had no part in his nature, nor was he a stickler for the dignity of the cloth. He sometimes rode on his mare, smoking a short pipe, on one occasion with "a milk-stool"—a present from "a professor"*—tied under his coat. But through the upper religious strata of his nature there was an occasional outcrop of worldly wisdom. He was told that "the window-peeper"† was in the parish, and advised to brick up one of his ten windows to escape the tax, and as we find no record of the payment of the 6s. impost, we may presume he acted on the advice. He wanted to worm a secret out of a woman, and employed an open-sesame of undoubted power; but, alas! "the best laid schemes o' mice "an' men gang aft agley,"—"though I called for a pint of ale for "her and me, yet she told me no more." Though a valiant soldier of the church militant he did not altogether rely on her spiritual artillery—

"But proved his doctrine orthodox
"By apostolic blows and knocks."

"I came home, and in the way was bawled at by Thomas Rhodes "for saying that he had said I could never pay my rent. I said "I never said so, and was angry at him, and smote him with my "stick two or three times about his hat."

Ale at this period was an essential of every meal, and even more than it is now the customary beverage of all classes, like the "intolerable deal of sack" in Jack Falstaff's little bill. Mr. Walkden's frequent records of indulgence in his usual "penny pot o' ale" may lead the inconsiderate to conclude that he was given to inebriation; but though he heartily enjoyed his ale and his pipe, the then common practice affords no basis for the assumption that he was a sot. He seems, however, to have been conscious that this weakness required defending; and his diary furnishes as many reasons for drinking as Dean Aldrich, whose were—

"Good wine, a friend, because I'm dry,
"Or least I should be by and by,
"Or any other reason why."

* Professor—A professor of the Presbyterian religion.
† The window-peeper—The assessor of window tax.

The simple casuistry with which the diarist vindicated this habitual infirmity is quite as amusing. He was wet, he was dry, he was hot, he was cold, ill or hungry, or someone else was thirsty, and the sovereign balm for these fleshly ills was "a penny pot o' "ale," which sometimes in the company of his "love," his children, or his neighbours, when news much older than the ale went round, acquired plurality. Scarcely a page of the diary is without some record of a call at one of the neighbouring inns, Sundays as well as week-days, but Mr. Walkden seldom appears to have stayed long at any of them; nor have we any distinct admission of inebriation, though on three occasions when he took his ease at an inn, a suspicious inference may be drawn. He left his Bible behind him at the inn next one of his chapels, and a "hough"* of beef at the Flying Horse in Preston, and lost his razor after a call at the New Bridge Inn, Ribchester; still these little mischances may be attributable to accident or forgetfulness.

Mr. Walkden had an amiable weakness for the due commemoration of old customs. He always sat the new year in, celebrated the Gunpowder Plot, marked his pigs rather cruelly by cutting off the tips of their ears, and formally "struck"† all his bargains. When his son's schoolfellows "barred out"‡ the schoolmaster, he gave them 2d. to celebrate the event; and "wared"§ many a sixpence in the "standings"‖ at Preston fairs on edibles for his children. One entry in his diary records the part he took in a peculiar formality in taking possession of an estate. "The "land being fallen to Robert Parker de Raddam Laund by "William's death, I stayed and bare witness that John Parker "o'th Lees, in the name of his father, put the family that lives in "the house all out, shut the door upon them, and thereby said "that he took possession of the estate and house." He many a

* A hough of beef—The shank.

† Striking a bargain—The quasi-solemnity of joining hands over the conclusion of a bargain. "Your hand on it."

‡ Barring-out—An ancient school custom, resorted to by the pupils before the holidays, to stipulate for the discipline of the succeeding term.

§ Wared—Spent. ‖ Standings—Market stalls, generally with canvas awnings.

time gave practical expression to the wish that fathered the words of a Shaksperian hero, "An' had I but one penny in the world, "thou should'st have it to buy gingerbread;" though in fact want of pence troubled him full sore, pennyworths of gingerbread for the delectation of himself and his children are a very frequent record in his diary.

Of the curious method of balancing his labour, barter, and loan accounts, there are too many instances to recount here; the following may be taken as a sample—"I reckoned about our "plowing and agreed to be straight; he, when he ended his "wheat seeding, owed me two days and a half, and he came to "plough my wheat grounds with his two mares, himself, his son, "his plough, at 8 a'clock, and it was 3 when he got home; so he "thought he had overpaid me, but he would be pleased if I was, "so I consented it should be so." And again—"I came to "Jas. Corner's shop, and paid for welting and soleing my "shoes 1s. 6d., but he having bought veal of me, as much as "came to 6d., I having since bought mutton of him that came "to 5d., he owed me a penny on the flesh account, which is "referred to a further reckoning."

Tracts on religious subjects were sent to the rev. gentleman by "John Taylor, stationer, The Ship, Paternoster Row," for distribution amongst his people; and though he received newspapers when the irregular postal arrangements were not interrupted, he appears, if we may judge from the scant notice bestowed on them, to have taken little interest in the Jacobite intrigues and other political excitements of the period, though paragraphs relating to anything bordering on the supernatural seem to have given him much concern, as did the account of the trial and subsequent pardon of a neighbouring landowner, "the infamous Colonel "Charteris, of Hornby Castle."

His wife, with whom he never quarrelled and always affectionately alluded to as "my love," gave him many lengthened sage advices, which he was far from despising; he rode pillion with either her, his sons, or daughters. The phrase "I got my "love behind me" frequently occurs in his diary. She appears

to have been like Dr. Hornbook, the famous leech of the district, whilst her husband cured the souls, she cured the bodies. He writes—"Thos. Seed o'th Little Town being ill, and fearing "a fever, sent to my love to come and blood him, which she did." And again—"Robert Seed being very ill, desired my love would "come and see him, and give him some advice about taking "physic. She got out of bed and went, and was an hour away;" but the hedge-physician could not cure herself. He writes—"My love, stepping on a high stone on the causeway, her ankle "went out;" and on his way to bring another village quack to her, he, "being hungry," made a providential call at the village inn, where he found a qualified practitioner, who went with him and set it, anointed it with hot oil, bandaged it with "seir "cloth,"* and demonstrated his respect for the reverend gentleman by refusing his fee.

Mrs. Walkden was a woman of activity and determination, not without some of the little weaknesses of the sex; she did her share of the housework, a little gardening, and tended and milked the cows; but at "proud Preston" her attraction to a milliner's shop overcame the patience of her husband; she went to buy a coloured cap for her daughter, and he writes, "she being long, I "left her." She had an excitable temperament, and though her husband appears to have escaped the lash of her tongue, others were not so fortunate. "Old John Berry" wanted pay for some pointing, and asked 8d. a day; but the diarist writes, "he being "old, I thought 6d. a day was well.† He said I might as well "offer him 2d., upon which my love and he had some words "about it." And again, "Edward Salisbury bespoke my horse "to go to Blackburn, and my love scolded him, that he never "paid erring‡ for loom fetching."

Mr. Walkden's son Henry, after spending some years on his father's farm, underwent academical tuition, and on the father's removal to Holcombe, succeeded to the ministry of his two chapels, to which was added the cure of a small chapel at

* Seir cloth—Cerecloth smeared with pitch.
† Well—Enough. ‡ Erring—The fee for the errand.

Chaigley; another son wove at home for the Blackburn and Darwen manufacturers; a third was apprenticed to a blacksmith; and the rest laboured on the farm. The daughters assisted in housework, gardening, and light field-work; but one appears to have been a somnambulist. Her father writes, "My daughter "Ann, in a dream, rose out of bed, and fell to the ground, but "blessed be God, she had no harm." This daughter afterwards married, and was buried in the yard of Stockport chapel in 1791; and some suspicion being excited, the grave was opened, in the presence of 100 people, a month afterwards, and it was found that "the body-snatchers" had removed the corpse. Her brother Henry seems to have suspected a local surgeon of inciting the theft, and vainly offered a reward of £25 for the apprehension of the culprits.

The diarist himself was removed to Holcombe, near Bury, in 1738, and in 1744 he assumed the charge of the Old Tabernacle, Stockport, in which town he died, Sunday, November 5th, 1769, at the ripe age of 85; and was buried inside his own chapel, under a Latin inscription written by his son Henry, which is now covered by a wooden floor.

The minute though often tedious detail of the entries in Mr. Walkden's diaries, furnishes interesting material from which an accurate conception of the hardships and social life of a country parson of the early part of the last century may be gathered; indeed trifles such as these constitute the most valuable of all materials from which a vivid realization of the daily life of the people of a bygone age can be formed; and to the sympathetic listener who can realize the truth of the fine old legend, "Laborare "est orare," the simple annals of the life of a man who first sought his Master and then found his work, cannot be uninteresting.

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LATIN EPITAPH AT THE OLD TABERNACLE, STOCKPORT.

Effare Saxum Quem Tegis, Petrum Walkdenum hujus Ecclesiæ per Viginti Sextos Annos Pastorum, Vigilantissimum, di-

Tell, O Stone, whom thou hidest?
Peter Walkden, for twenty-six years of this Church a most

lectum concionatorem eximium, indefatigatum, facundum, præpotentem pietatis et probitatis exemplar spectabile qui ætate provectus, mente sanus et temperantia morti et cœlo maturus, et decus et doctor suorum, et parochianorum spe lætæ Resurrectionis occubuit Novembris 5° Anna ætatis suæ 86° et Redemptionis nostræ 1769.

O Mors crudelis! qualem virum extinxisti, sed bene habet, virtus Walkdenis immortalis est.

watchful and a beloved Pastor, an excellent Preacher, indefatigable, eloquent, and of great power. Of piety and probity a noteworthy example. Advanced in age, but with mind unimpaired, and with calmness of spirit, ripe for death and Heaven, both the ornament and instructor of his family and of his parishioners, on the 5th November, in the 86th year of his age and the 1769th of our redemption, in the hope of a joyful resurrection, he died.

O cruel Death! what a creature hast thou extinguished! But it is well: the virtue of Walkden is immortal.

Mr. Walkden's son Henry, the writer of the above epitaph, died at Clitheroe, where he was a dissenting minister, April 2nd, 1795.

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*Prices current in the Chipping District (1725-30), extracted from Walkden's Diaries.*

RENTS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Small house, per ann. | £1 | 15 | 0 |
| Do. and half fruit of orchard, per ann. | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Garden, per ann. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Small crofts, per ann., each average | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Two fields, per ann. | 3 | 11 | 0 |
| 1 small and 1 large field, per ann. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. Walkden's own farm | 12 | 15 | 0 |

LIVE STOCK.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Small mare, £2 2s.; pigs . . . . each | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| Old horse, 16s. 6d.; calves . . . . „ | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Cow and calf, coupled . . . . average | 5 | 12 | 0 |
| Cows . . . . . average each | 5 | 3 | 9 |
| Do. old . . . . . „ „ | 3 | 8 | 3 |
| Heifers* . . . . . each | 3 | 17 | 9 |

* Heifer—A young cow.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Heifers, in calf . . . . . average each | £4 | 2 | 6 |
| Do. black . . . . . „ „ | 2 | 12 | 0 |
| A Scot* . . . . . | 1 | 14 | 0 |
| Stirks,† average 12s. 9d. each; Steers‡ average each | 0 | 16 | 6 |

PRODUCE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Straw, per thrave§ . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Rye, per windle‖ . . . . . | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Barley, per windle . . . . . | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| Barley, per bushel . . . . . | 0 | 7 | 4 |
| Seed oats, „ . . . . . | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| Do. barley, per stone . . . . . | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| The corners or waste of a wheat field . . . | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Full-grown ash tree . . . . . | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| Wool, per lb. . . . . average | 0 | 0 | 3½ |

AGRICULTURAL REQUISITES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pack-saddle and bellyband . . . . . | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| New pack-saddle¶ . . . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rope traces, back band, and haimes** . . . | 0 | 0 | 8½ |
| Rope traces . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| New horse shoes and fixing . . . . each | 0 | 0 | 3¼ |
| Fastening do. . . . . | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Horselock, to prevent straying on the fells . . | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Oak coal cart . . . . . | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| Wood seed hopper†† and trappings. . . . | 0 | 0 | 5½ |
| Caddow (caddy), a small ornamental chest . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Old oak chest . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Cart whip . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Repairing whip . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Half bus. measure and a tempse (fine sieve) . . | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Riddle . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Sickles . . . . . each | 0 | 0 | 3½ |
| New scythe . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| Old plough . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Horse load of slate at New Buckley . . . | 0 | 1 | 3 |

* Scot—A small shaggy-haired cow.

† Stirk—An old calf. ‡ Steer—A young bullock.

§ Thrave—Two dozen bottles or bundles.

‖ Windle—About 2stlbs. in Preston.

¶ Pack-saddle—A special-made saddle, fitted with a kind of panniers.

** Haimes—The iron couplings round the collar.

†† Hopper—Seed basket.

LABOUR.

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bricklayer, per day (with his meals) | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Apprentice Smith for 7 years, with his food | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. Tailor for 4 do. do. and clothes | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Tachers (Thatchers), per day | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Farm labourers, per day, with food | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Husbandman, Candlemas to Michaelmas, with food | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Clearing a farm of timber | 1 | 11 | 3 |
| Turf delving, per horse load (a groat) | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Leading (carrying) do. per do. | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| A fall of delving* | 0 | 0 | 5½ |
| Horse hire, per day | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Occasional charwoman, per week, with food | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Grinding a razor | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Carrying a letter to York | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Fee to Counsel | 1 | 0 | 0 |

FOOD.

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bacon, per lb. | 0 | 0 | 2½ |
| Beef, „ | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| „ per shank | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| „ per foot | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dead Calf | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Mutton, per leg | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| „ per loin | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| „ per quarter | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Sheep's pluck | 0 | 0 | 1½ |
| Calf head | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| „ feet, per doz. | 0 | 0 | 4½ |
| Cheese, per lb. | 0 | 0 | 2½ |
| Butter, „ (Preston) | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| „ „ (at home) | 0 | 0 | 3½ |
| Eggs, each | 0 | 0 | 0¼ |
| Honey, per lb. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Onions, per stone | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Apples, per bushel | 0 | 2 | 9 |
| Nuts, per gall. | 0 | 0 | 2½ |
| Plums, per score | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| A neck of veal and calf foot | 0 | 0 | 7½ |
| Hough and beef marrow bone | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| „ and mutton rack† | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| Thornbacks (ray-fish) each | 0 | 0 | 1¾ |
| Herrings 11 for | 0 | 0 | 2 |

* A fall—30¼ square yards, statute measure.

† Hough—The Shank; Rack—The Neck.

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| Flukes, per dozen | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Little potatoes, per bushel | 0 | 0 | 3½ |
| „ „ per awkendale (7lbs) | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| „ „ per horse load | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| Great (large) „ „ | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Manchet (sacramental loaf) | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Leven ( „ ) | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Bunloaf | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Dinner | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| „ Preston | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| „ and pint of Ale | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Breakfast, Supper, and one Night Lodging | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Horse feed | 0 | 0 | 1 |

DRINKS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Spirits, per "Jack"* | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Ale (Preston) per pint | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| „ (local) per large pot | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| „ „ per small pot | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Claret, per gallon | 0 | 5 | 8 |
| „ per quart | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| „ per pint | 0 | 1 | 0 |

WEARING APPAREL AND MATERIALS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shoes, Women's, per pair | 0 | 2 | 5 |
| „ Boys', „ | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| „ Child's „ | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| „ Men's „ | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Boots, Men's, the old ones and per pair. | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| „ welted and soled | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Boys' uppers re-clogged | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| "Spit Boot"† Spurs and a pair of Bellows | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Boy's "brat" (apron) | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Woollen coating cloth, per yard | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Stockings, men's, per pair | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| „ women's „ | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| „ children's „ | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Man's cravat | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Child's daddling strings‡ | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| "Stript Woonsey",§ per yard | 0 | 0 | 10 |

* Jack—A measure of uncertain size (here probably a quarter of a pint) frequently made of leather

† Spit Boots—Heavy leathern gaiters with flaps over shoes fastened with iron clasps.

‡ Daddling Strings—Nursing or leading strings.

§ Stript Woonsey—Striped Linsey-woolsey.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clogs, per pair | £0 | 0 | 5 |
| Shoe-buckles, per pair | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| „ mending | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| "Sparrow-bills" (cobbler's nails) per lb. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Riding boots and coat | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Coat, boy's | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Linen shirting, per yard | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| "Kerseymere,"* „ | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| Hats | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| Women's "staves" (stays) per pair | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| „ garters, per pair | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Studs . . . . . each | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Thread, per oz. | 0 | 0 | 2½ |
| Mohair,† per knot | 0 | 0 | 2 |

PROFESSIONAL PERQUISITES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Funeral Sermons, Mr. Walkden's . . 2s. 6d. and | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Prayer, "for and with the sick" | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Vicar's fee for children baptised at dissenters' chapels, ea. | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Chapel Collections in response to the bishop's "briefs"‡ . . . 2s. 6d., 3s., 3s. 2d., | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Clerking for farmer, Mr. Walkden's fee per annum | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| „ taxgatherer, „ | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| "Scrivener"§ for fortnight's tuition in writing | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Scholastic tuition, per quarter | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Interest on borrowed money | 5 | per ct. | |
| Money-changer's fee for changing a guinea | 0 | 0 | 6 |

SUNDRIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Scissors, per pair | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Toy trumpet | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Yard measure | 0 | 0 | 10½ |
| *Mercury* newspaper‖ | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Almanack | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Old newspapers . . . . . each | 0 | 0 | 1½ |
| Child's School Primer | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Candles, per lb. | 0 | 0 | 6 |

* Kerseymere—A kind of coarse soft cloth used for riding breeches.

† Mohair—A sort of stiff coarse thread.

‡ Briefs—Letters licensing the collection of contributions for church use—usually from the diocesan.

§ Scrivener—The writing master.

‖ *Mercury*—Several "Mercuries" were published at this time; the diarist does not name which this was The first newspaper, *The Weekly News*, was published in 1622, *The Daily Courant* in 1702, and several "Mercuries" now in existence were founded more than a century and a half ago.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mending tongs | £0 | 0 | 0½ |
| Stoneware basin | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| A pane of glass | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Bottle of ink | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Grammar | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Dr. Edwards' (Presbyterian) *Veritas Redux* | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Ainsworth's (Brownist) Theological Works, folio | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Cannel, per cwt. | 0 | 0 | 7½ |
| Coal, per horse load | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Tobacco, per oz. | 0 | 0 | 1½ |
| Do. per quartern | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Feather bed | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| Oak oval table | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Pipes, per gross | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Man's head of hair for peruke, a cravat and | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Window tax, per window above 10 | 0 | 6 | 0 |

N.B.—Most of these prices were subject to a small return, or "lucky penny."

# NOTES, HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN,

RELATING TO

# LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

*By J. Harris Gibson.*

(Read Nov. 27th, 1879.)

## PART II.

HENRY III, from the Meols Beach. *Found Nov., 1879—Coll. C. Potter.*

A divided Penny; half. Long cross. *Obv.* Part of the face, and ENRICUS . R. *Rev.* ON LVND. On this fragment the letters are three times united.

QUARTER NOBLE, EDWARD III, from the Meols Beach.

*Found Nov., 1879—Coll. C. Potter.*

Precisely similar to the piece found in March, 1879. See Notes, Trans. Hist. Soc., vol. xxxi, p. 69.

*Obv.* EDWARD ✠ DEI ✠ GRA ✠ REX ✠ . . . . *Angl.* A beaded shield quartering first and fourth France ancient, second and third England, within a double tressure of eight curves. *Rev.* . . . . TABITVR ✠ IN ✠ GLOR . . . *Exaltabitur in gloria.* A cross fleury terminating in fleur-de-lis, a fleur-de-lis in the centre, a lion passant in each angle, within a double tressure of eight curves.

A broken coin, but well preserved. This is the second undoubted discovery of gold money on the Cheshire shore.

AN UNRECORDED LIVERPOOL PAMPHLET.

*Coll. D. Radcliffe, Esq., J.P.*

A small quarto pamphlet of 52 pp., with well engraved frontispiece, not in the lists published by the Historic Society.*

* Vol. xiii, p. 121; and vol. xvii, p. 73.

TITLE PAGE.—"The VOYAGE: a POEM, (in eight parts), containing "Reflections upon a Farewell; Calm; Moderate Breeze; Hard Gale; Storm; "Shipwreck; Deliverance; Return.—Liverpool: Printed for the AUTHOR, "and Sold by T. COWBURNE, at his Printing-office, in Castle Street."

DEDICATION.—"To the Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and "Common Council of the Town of Liverpool; This Poem is humbly "presented by their most obedient Humble Servant," THOMAS BOULTON.

It is evident the author was a native of Liverpool, he alludes to his home and birthplace in the opening lines, "Farewell."

"Adieu! ye ever pleasing hills,
"Whose chearful looks the mind with rapture fills;
"How oft have I upon your surface trod,
"And viewed with joy the painting of a God;
"How oft have I your summits traversed o'er,
"Blest with the beauties of my native shore."

And again in the "Return"—

"Oh happy day, my native shore's in sight,
"The blooming fields affords a fresh delight;
"I see the steeples o'er yon lofty hill,
"Now every scene my breast with joy doth fill."
"Our bark glides swiftly thro' the rapid tide,
"Prest by the gale she does the waves divide;
"And now once more my eyes behold the Rock,
"The Perch we pass, and run into the Dock."

This is a good description of the appearance of the country round Liverpool, as seen from the deck of a vessel entering the port a hundred years ago. The old Rock Perch was removed in 1827, when the foundation stone of the lighthouse was laid.

Mr. Boulton tells us, in a foot-note, he had been several voyages to Africa, therefore we may assume he was a sailor by profession. He also mentions certain localities in the town of a not very delectable character; he says:—

"Was't not for thee, who stops my wild career,
"I often should (I own) to Dig Lane* steer;
"Or perhaps to New Street,† on which wretched coast,
"So many clever fellows have been lost."

As may be supposed, the poem contains many nautical phrases, variety of weather, and the usual incidents which occur at sea.

* Dig Lane, the old name for Cheapside.
† New Street, a narrow street out of Dale street.

In his "Return," the Welsh coast is sighted.

"'Tis Holyhead, I see it from below."

He then sails his vessel into port.

"The wind comes aft, my lads the bowlins check,
"Up main clew-garnet, quick, let go the tack.
"Round in your braces, now the wind's come fair,
"She goes before it and the yards are square.
"We briskly sail, for now both wind and tide
"Is in our favour, and we swiftly glide."

The printer, *T. Cowburne*, appears in Mr. Mott's list once,* as the printer of Hutchinson's *Treatise on Practical Seamanship*, 1777. In the Liverpool Directory, 1766, he is styled "Thomas "Cowburne, Printer, Atherton Street."

LIVERPOOL DOCK POLICE. A large bronze medal.

*Coll. British Museum.*

*Obv.* The river Mersey personified, LIVERPOOL DOCK POLICE below. *Rev.* G . R . III.

I do not know for what purpose this medal was struck; it may have been given as a reward, or perhaps only worn as a distinguishing badge of service. In 1816 the Dock Police Office was at No. 39, East Side Old Dock. In 1827 No. 2, Hanover Street.

A TRENCHER, temp. Car. I.

A few months ago a small wooden trencher, belonging to a lady in Lytham, was shown to me. I at once copied the inscription, which, from its curious old written character and quaintness of aphorism, I thought worthy of preservation. The trencher is 5¼ inches in diameter, with border of scrolls and flowers, painted in different colours; the centre is slightly depressed, and inscribed :—

If thou
bee younge then
marrie nott yett ∴ It
thou bee old thou hast more
witt. For younge mens
wives will nott bee taught,
And old mens wives
bee good for
naught ∴

* Trans. Hist. Soc., vol. xiii, p. 127.

THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF LIVERPOOL VOLUNTEERS, (or "Liverpool Blues.")

During the present year, 1879, I met with an odd but pleasing relic of an old Liverpool regiment, viz., an officer's cross-belt plate, oval, copper gilt, having a large silver liver (the town's crest) fixed on the centre, and close to the outer rim—ROYAL LIVERPOOL REGIMENT OF VOLUNTEERS.

This interesting part of a soldier's uniform comes to light a century after the regiment was raised, officered, and numbered in the regular service, as the 97th, or Royal Liverpool Volunteers.*

In the *Army List*, 1781, all the officers' names, with dates of their commissions, are given. Those above the rank of lieutenant were—

| | Date of Commission. |
|---|---|
| Col. (Major-General) Thomas Hall . | Jan. 8, 1779 |
| Lieut.-Col. F. Richmond Humphreys . | May 2, 1779 |
| Major Bryan Blundell . . . | Nov. 2, 1780 |
| Capt. Banister Tarleton . . . | Jan. 8, 1778 |
| „ John de Birniere . . . | Jan. 11, 1778 |
| „ Andrew Despard . . . | Jan. 13, 1778 |
| „ Richard Bulkely . . . | Jan. 14, 1778 |
| „ Vesey Knox . . . . | Aug. 6, 1780 |
| „ Thomas Mounsey . . . | Aug. 28, 1780 |
| „ Edward Marcus Despard . . | Oct. 25, 1780 |
| „ Clotworthy Dobbins . . | Oct. 25. 1780 |

Thomas Hall, promoted to the rank of general, 3rd May, 1796, was colonel of the 3rd Buffs, and died 1810.

Francis Richmond Humphreys became a major-general, 1794.

Bryan Blundell, grandson of Bryan Blundell, founder of the Blue Coat Hospital, was afterwards colonel of the 45th regiment, and served with distinction at the capture of Guadaloupe, 1794.

Banister Tarleton. The Tarletons were a very old Liverpool family. Banister served in America under Cornwallis; he became General Sir Banister Tarleton, and was returned M.P. for this borough at the election in 1790. He died 23rd January, 1833.

Edward Marcus Despard, afterwards Colonel Despard, who was executed at Southwark, Feb. 21st, 1803, for conspiracy.

* The regiment was raised 1778, disbanded 1783. It served in Jamaica.

# THE HARINGTON MONUMENT IN CARTMEL CHURCH.

*By W. O. Roper, Esq.*

(Read April 15th, 1880.)

THE Harington Monument has long been a puzzle to antiquarian minds; and the following paper was read, not with a view of solving the disputed points, but in the hope of drawing attention to various facts which might lead to satisfactory answers being given to the questions—To whose memory, and in what place, was the monument originally erected?

Cartmel is situated on the portion of the county of Lancaster which is separated by the waters of the Kent and Leven from the rest of the shire. The priory church stands in a fertile valley, through which the river Ea flows towards Morecambe Bay. On the east rises the great limestone ridge of Hampsfell; on the west are the tree-clad heights of Howbarrow and St. Bernard's Mount; northwards the scenery grows grander and wilder, and beyond the head of the valley are seen the mighty peaks of the Coniston range.

Though tradition alleges that the erection of the priory on its present site was the result of a supernatural message, directing that the church should be built between two rivers flowing in different directions, and that Cartmel afforded such a site, the more prosaic page of history gives another account.

King John, while Earl of Moreton, having granted to William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, lands in Cartmel for the purpose of endowing a house of religion, the Earl founded at Cartmel,

in the year 1188, a priory of Canons Regular of the order of St. Augustine, and endowed the foundation with all his land in the district. His charter directs that an abbey shall never be made of the priory, and concludes with the invocation—"This house "have I founded for the increase of Holy Religion, giving and "conceding to it every kind of liberty that the mouth can utter "or the heart of man conceive; whosoever therefore shall cause "loss or injury to the said house or its immunities, may he incur "the curse of God and of the Blessed Virgin, and of all the "other Saints of God, besides my particular malediction."

The annals of Cartmel Priory follow in the usual groove of monastic history,—grants of land flowed in upon the canons, farm was added to farm, and dispute after dispute arose between the prior and the neighbouring landowners. The only records of its earlier existence consist of a few deeds, now preserved in the Record Office; and for nearly two centuries of its later existence as a priory the page of its history is almost a blank. Of its worldly possessions at the time of the dissolution, several lists are extant, and its annual income at the earlier survey varies according to the estimate between £89 4s. 7d. and £124 2s. 1d. To avoid being swept away with the smaller religious houses, the canons presented a revised account shewing their income to be £212 12s. 10d. This amount chiefly derived from rents of land, tithes collected at the barns of Flookburgh, Godderside, and Allithwaite, and oblations "at the Relyke of the Holy Crosse," which was preserved in the church. The number of canons at the time of this survey was ten, and of servants thirty-two.

The priory fell and the church was despoiled. The roof of the chancel, the nave, and the transepts, was torn off; and the Piper choir is now the only portion retaining its ancient groined roof. But the church was the ancient parish church for the inhabitants of Cartmel, and they naturally objected to its ruthless desecration. Their remonstrance checked the process of demolition, but for many years the priory church stood ruinous, and exposed to every storm. Early in the seventeenth century the generosity of George Preston, of Holker, caused a roof to be

placed over the chancel, and that over the Town choir was probably renewed at the same time. From that date gradual restorations have been carried on; and, owing to the great improvements effected during the last quarter of a century, the church is now restored as nearly as possible to the condition in which it stood at the dissolution of monasteries.

The church, built in the form of a Greek cross, consists of choir with side aisles or chapels, north and south transepts, and nave with aisles. The choir and transepts are of the Transition style, between Norman and Early English. The nave is of Late Perpendicular work, and almost all the windows are Perpendicular insertions. Over the crossing rises the tower, a square placed upon a square diagonally to its base: a singular but most effective arrangement. The choir has originally projected one bay eastward beyond its chapels. A modern vestry, added to the northern chapel (commonly called the Piper Choir), has extended the exterior length on the northern side to the same extent as the choir; and the southern chapel (or Town Choir) has been enlarged in the Decorated style. At each side of the chancel, in the bay projecting to the east, there was formerly a lancet window; the window on the north side was filled up when the vestry was erected; that on the south—enclosed when the Town Choir was rebuilt—has been partially filled up and partially widened to afford space for the tomb, which now stands beneath its arch.

This tomb—the so-called Harington Monument—consists of a canopy of stone shielding two effigies imposed upon a hollow stone base. To make room for the monument the original lancet window has been widened, the beautiful sedilia on its western side have been cut away, and a curious piscina with nail-headed moulding has been mutilated in a similar manner.

The base of the monument is formed by a hollow stone box, carved on the front and back with quatrefoils. Round the foot is a line of monks, in various attitudes; and from the base rise, on each side, three upright shafts, converging into an arch supporting the canopy. The carvings on these shafts are very

curious, and the meaning of many of them has been elucidated by the perseverance of the clerk of the church. At the foot of the eastern shaft on the north side of the monument is a figure of John the Baptist, holding in his hands an "Agnus Dei." This figure stands under a small canopy of Late Decorated work, above which are two shields, at present devoid of any heraldic device. Above again is a group of figures, supposed to represent the anointing by Mary of the feet of Christ. Tracing up the western shaft in a similar way, we find at the foot a figure in full robes, holding a cross, possibly St. Gregory. Behind him is a figure of St. Alphege. Above the small canopy protecting these figures are two blank shields, corresponding to those on the eastern shaft. Above these again is a very curious group—a figure, with his right arm drawn back, kneels before a man blindfolded. This group may be intended to represent the scene described by St. Luke—"When they had blindfolded Him, they "struck Him on the face, and asked him, saying, Prophesy, who "is it that smote thee?"* The centre shaft commences with a series of quatrefoils, then two blank shields, and at the top a shield, on which is carved a fret. These three shafts support two pointed arches with trefoil heads: these arches again are continued to the point of intersection.

At this point is the figure of an angel, drawing up a figure in a sheet, supposed to represent the passage of the soul of the knight into heaven. Above this arch is a transom, carved with quatrefoils, and four shields, bearing the fret. Above this again is a line of oak leaves and acorns, carved in high relief, below an embattled cornice. On the top are placed a number of loose sculptures, representing the adoration of the Virgin, and other figures.

Proceeding now to the southern side of the monument. At the foot of the eastern shaft is a figure of St. Catherine with her wheel, and higher up the shaft is a mutilated representation of the

* The representations of scenes from the New Testament carved upon the monument may possibly have been copied from scenes in the ancient Passion or Mystery Plays, one of which is known to have been acted at Kendal until the middle of the seventeenth century

Crucifixion. On the western shaft are figures of St. Margaret and St. Peter, and above them is the figure of an archangel. Above again is a group representing the scourging of Christ by the Roman soldiers. A representation of the soul of the lady being borne upwards—similar to that on the north side—appears on this side of the monument.

Beneath the canopy are the recumbent effigies of a knight and his lady. The knight—on the northern side—is represented as wearing a mail hauberk, flowing surcoat, and plate knee-pieces. The sword, with its guard bars sloping downwards, hangs before his legs, and on the large heater-shaped shield is carved a fret. The effigy of the lady is of the same period, and shews the mantle and wimple. Each figure holds in uplifted hands what appears to be a heart, and at the head of each an attendant angel is seated. At the feet of the knight is a lion, and the covered feet of the lady rest upon a dog. The style of both effigies belongs to the latter part of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

So much for the monument itself. Now arise the questions, To whose memory was this curious tomb originally erected?—and where?

First, what evidence on these points can be gleaned from the monument? The effigies are those of a knight and his lady in late thirteenth or early fourteenth century style. The effigies are placed on a hollow tomb, which is probably empty. Many years ago this hollow box was opened, but the enterprise of the explorers was only rewarded by finding a little piece of leather, a small piece of iron, and a smaller piece of bone. But, one of the effigies furnishes us with a link of the highest importance. The shield of the knight bears carved upon it a fret; and though that charge was blazoned on the shields of several families in Furness and Cartmel, other evidence must be adduced to shew to which of these it in this case belonged. The canopy is apparently of later date than the effigies; pieces are gone, and the whole monument appears to have been hastily and somewhat inconsiderately put together. Its curious devices furnish no

evidence, but with them are intermingled shields, bearing exactly the same device as that on the shield of the knight—a fret, without tincture or mark of distinction of any kind. But there the evidence to be gathered from the monument stops—a few shields, each bearing a fret, is all that is furnished by this examination.

Collateral evidence must therefore be brought to bear upon the question.

In the west window of Cartmel Church was formerly the representation of a knight, bearing on his shield a fret; in a window in the Town Choir can still be seen a representation of the same arms; and in the east window of Bowness Church—taken from Cartmel at the dissolution of the monasteries—the same device is several times emblazoned. The family bearing these arms had evidently, therefore, a very strong interest in the priory church of Cartmel.

But, in the neighbouring peninsula, in the parish church of Aldingham, high up in an obscure corner of an ancient window, is a pane of glass bearing the same device. Again, four miles from Aldingham, in the tower of the curious little church which overlooks the dark waters of Urswick Tarn, a bell is found, bearing a shield with the same arms, and an inscription which at once identifies them—WILELMUS DE HARYNGTON, DOMINVS DE ALDYNGHAM ET DOMINA MARGARETA UXOR EJVS.

One link more may be found in connection with the position of the monument. The canopy stands in the wall between the chancel and the Town Choir—one side faces the former, the other side looks into the latter. An examination of the old church books of Cartmel shews that, in 1674, a scale of payment was fixed for interment in "Lord Harington's Queare," now the Town Choir. This link, considered in connection with the armorial bearings on the canopy and figures, tends to support strongly the tradition that the monument was erected to the memory of some member of the Harington family.

Then arises the question, to which member?—a question which involves an investigation into matters of pedigree. The

fact of the effigies being in early fourteenth century style narrows the field of enquiry. About the middle of the thirteenth century Sir Robert de Harington married the heiress of the Cancefields, Lords of Aldingham, and settled at that place. His elder son, John, was the first Baron of Aldingham, and died about 1348. Robert, his son (who had married a daughter of the house of Multon of Egremond), died in the lifetime of his father, and John Harington succeeded his grandfather as second baron. This branch of the family continued to hold the manor of Aldingham for some centuries.

But the first Baron of Aldingham had a second son, Michael, who obtained a grant of land at Allithwaite, in the parish of Cartmel, and who may possibly be the ancestor of the Haringtons of Wraysholme Tower, near Allithwaite. A third son, John, ancestor of the Haringtons of Hornby, died in 1362, a date too late for the effigies, and perhaps also for the canopy.

No other candidate, suitable from a chronological point of view, presents himself, and the issue is narrowed to the six named, viz. :—

(1) Sir ROBERT de Harington (who married the heiress of the Cancefields) and his descendants ;
(2) JOHN, 1st Baron of Aldingham, died circ. 1348 ;
(3) ROBERT (son of John), d. v. p. ; and
(4) JOHN, 2nd Baron, died circ. 1363 ;
(5) MICHAEL of Allithwaite, the date of whose death is not recorded ; and
(6) JOHN (son of the 1st Baron), who married Katherine Sherburne, and died about 1362.

(1) Sir Robert de Harington would have very little connection with Cartmel, and it is hardly likely that a monument would be erected to his memory in the priory church. (6) John, who married Katherine Sherburne, died at a period too late for the style of the effigies. (4) So also did John Harington, the second Baron. This leaves John, first Baron, and his sons, Robert and Michael, to deal with. Michael held land in Cartmel parish, and the monument is undoubtedly of Cartmel stone. But there the

evidence at present ends. Michael Harington may have erected the monument to the memory of his father John (2), or of his brother Robert (3). Further than these suggestions I cannot yet go.

As to the original site of the monument, the very size of the tomb, and the fact of its being constructed of Cartmel stone, are both strongly in favour of its having been erected at no very great distance from its present position. Certainly, from the mutilation of the sedilia, it must have been placed there since 1537. From the parish choir being termed the Harington Choir in 1674, it is probable that the monument was in its present position at that date. The chancel was roofless from 1537 to 1618, and it is not probable that the monument would be removed to a place where it would be exposed to the weather. On the other hand, no evidence of its existence appears in the transactions so carefully preserved of the "twenty-fourty" of Cartmel parish, from 1597 until 1674. On the whole the balance of probability would incline to its having been placed where it now stands at the time of the general restoration in 1618. Where it stood before that date is equally difficult to determine—probably in some other part of the church. Its size would prevent its being removed from any great distance, and the fact of its being carved from the stone of the neighbourhood, would point to its having been originally erected in Cartmel Church.

These few data I have been induced to put together, in the hope that attention may be drawn to what has always been a curious, but unsatisfactory, subject for antiquarian speculation.

# PROCEEDINGS,

## THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1879-80.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

*Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, October 18th, 1879,*

F. J. BAILEY, VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

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## REPORT.

DURING the past Session, eleven papers have been read before this Society, six of which are printed in the volume now before you. Five of these papers are upon local archæological subjects, and one of general archæological interest. The Council venture to congratulate the Society on having secured some valuable work in these papers, and on having kept to a sphere originally laid down for itself as its own, and universally assigned to it by the public.

At the commencement of the volume now before you is a Preface, or Advertisement, issued by the present Council, giving no uncertain note as to the lines of work it is intended the Society shall pursue: these are History and Archæology generally, and particularly the History and Archæology of the counties of Lancaster and Chester.

This is a return to the original programme of the Society agreed upon in 1848, and described in a prospectus issued during that year, as follows:—"The success which has attended the establishment of societies for "the preservation of historical and local collections, and the mass of interest-"ing and important matter which has been by such means rescued from "oblivion, are sufficient inducement and justification for the institution of a "society for preserving, arranging, and publishing such historical documents, "antiquities, objects of natural history, specimens of ancient and mediæval "art, &c., &c., as are connected with the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and "Chester."

The present volume has been printed with new type upon better paper, and is in these respects, and also with regard to illustrations, an improvement upon some of its immediate predecessors.

The Treasurer presents a Balance Sheet, giving a satisfactory view of the financial condition of the Society.

The Collections belonging to the Society, at present in the Free Public Museum, have been carefully looked over and re-arranged, the cases have been re-lined and cleaned, and some of the unimportant specimens shut up in cabinets.

During the past Session the Society has lost the immediate assistance of the Rev. A. Hume. It is not easy to appreciate at once the effect which this retirement has had upon the Society, for Dr. Hume's connection has been extended over many years, and concerned with arduous and numerous undertakings.

The Balloting lists have been made out in accordance with the Laws, and are now submitted to the members.

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The Report was then adopted.

The Treasurer presented the Balance Sheet, which was passed.*

A Ballot was then taken for the election of the Council and Officers.†

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*November 13th, 1879.*

THOMAS G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Edgar Murray.

Some old black Wedgwood ware, also some old Worcester and old Spode ware, and two old jugs by Sadler, of very curious pattern and design.

By Charles Potter.

A large jug, of old Liverpool manufacture. On one side is the representation of a country ale-house, with men sitting under the porch of a doorway, which is overhung with the foliage of trees. The portly landlord is welcoming a weary traveller. The subject forms an interesting picture, in the very finest style of Liverpool transfer On the opposite side is a dog, hand-painted, probably the sign of the ale-house. Beneath the lip of the jug is the name, James Spike, with the date, 1800.

* See page 173. † See page iv.

By T. Shadford Walker.

1. *Garden of the Soul (Hortus Animæ)*, printed in Gothic characters, at Mainz, in A.D. 1514, by Johan Schœffer. The book is decorated with finely-executed grotesque borders, of a highly humorous, but not very seemly kind, for a devotional book. It is in the original binding of boards covered with calf, clasped, and dated 1599, and richly gilt. Altogether a very unusual specimen of printing and decoration, in a fine state of preservation, as well as unmutilated.

2. *Book of Hours*, a beautiful MS. on vellum, written in the 15th century by a Spanish artist, with six very fine full-page miniatures, having mosaic backgrounds in simple square frames, besides numerous fine initials and borders. The Moorish Arch is introduced in the first painting.

3. *Psalter of the Blessed Virgin*, composed by Saint Bonaventure. It is written by an Italian scribe, in elegant Roman text, the capital letters and titles in gold, decorated with eight elaborate miniatures, painted by Baroccio, end of the 16th century.

By Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A.

1. An ancient Egyptian object. Mr. Gatty remarked :—Through the courtesy of Mr. William Mathison, I am enabled to bring to your notice this evening, an ancient Egyptian object of uncertain use and probably unique form. This object was purchased by Mr. Mathison at the sale of the late Mr. Ewart, and was shown by Mr. Mathison to Dr. Birch, during his visit to the Mayer collection in 1877. Dr. Birch recognised the designs upon this object, as forming the obverse and reverse of several circular bronze medallions, modern imitations or casts from the antique ; and Dr. Birch had never before seen a true antique with these designs upon it. The object is formed of a hollow cylinder of very hard, dried, earthy or terra-cotta composition apparently, about 2⅝ in. long, and 2⅛ in. diameter ; the side of the cylinder being about ¼ in. thick. Attached to each end of the cylinder is a design of a mythological character, in pale blue opaque glass or possibly porcelain, the design being in open work, so that light can be seen, looking down the cylinder lengthways, coming through the interstices of the two designs.

At one end is the ram-headed god, Khnum, wearing on his head the disk, horns, and urœi, and seated between two winged urœi, the goddesses Uat or Buto, and Neneb or Eileithyia; above the two urœi is an hieroglyphic inscription, reading, "The speech "of Uat, saying, she gives life, "long and established." In the exergue is a fish eating a water plant; and all round the design is an ornamental border, which has been half broken away.

At the other end of the cylinder is another design, in the same material—an Egyptian, in a grove of trees, leading along a goat, on which sits an ape: and in the exergue are water plants. There has been an ornamental border round this design also.

The meaning and purpose of this object are difficult to determine, nor can we suppose that it is now in its perfect and original condition. The rough sides of the cylinder could hardly be meant to be exposed as they are now, and the ornamental border round the designs has evidently been extended further than it now is; and it has been suggested by Dr. Birch that there was originally a glass cylinder outside the present one, joining the one ornamental border to the other.

There is in the Mayer Museum one of the modern bronze medallions with similar designs, and several others occur in English collections.

2. An illuminated MS. Primer, or Book of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, according to the English use; late 14th century work; Mayer Museum, No. 12,009; 141 ff.; each page 7¼ inches by 5⅝ inches. On this Mr. Gatty remarked:—It contains: "Calendar; "The Hours of the Blessed Virgin; Hymn and Prayers to B. V. M.; "De VII gaudiis B. V. M.; Prayers before an image of Christ crucified; Prayer of the Ven. Bede on the last words of Christ; Seven "Penitential Psalms, and Litany of the Saints; Vespers and Matins "for the Dead; The Commendatio Animarum; The Psalter of S. "Jerome; The Psalms of the Passion; Prayers to Our Lord; The "Memoriæ of S. Mary Magdalen, S. George, S. Barbara, S. Margaret, S. John Baptist, S. Thomas of Canterbury, S. Katharine,

"S. Christopher." There are 12 miniatures, and some elaborately illuminated initial letters. The leaves have been bound up anyhow, by an ignorant hand, and the offices are so mixed up, it is difficult to ascertain how far the book is perfect. The Calendar contains the names of the following amongst many other saints :—"(Jan. 19) S. "Wulstan, B.; (March 2) S. Chad B. C.; (March 18) S. Edward, "K. M.; (March 20) S. Cuthbert, B.; (Ap. 11) S. Guthlake, C.; "(Ap. 19) S. Elphege, B. C.; (May 7) S. John of Beverley; "(May 19) S. Dunstan; (June 17) S. Botulph, Abb.; (June 21) "S. Leofrid, Abb.; (June 22) St. Alban, M.; (July 4) S. Martin; "(July 7) Translation of S. Thomas of Canterbury; (July 28) "S. Sampson, B.; (5 Aug.) S. Oswald; (4 Sept.) Translation of "S. Cuthbert; (23 Sept.) S. Tecla; (3 Oct.) Octave of S. Hugh; "(6 Oct.) Translation of S. Hugh; (12 Oct.) S. Wilfrid, B.; "(17 Oct.) Transl. of S. Ethelrede, V.; (Oct. 19) S. Frideswide, V.; "(Nov. 3) S. Rumwald, C.; S. Edmund, B.; (Nov. 17) [in red] "S. Hugh; (Nov. 20) [in red] S. Edmund, K. M.; (Dec. 29) "S. Thomas of Canterbury."

It is curious to notice that the family who owned this book of prayers complied with the change of religious professions during the 16th century, and scratched and blotted out the name of S. Thomas of Canterbury in the Calendar, and the word "Pope." Later on, the Memorial and Collect for S. Thomas are scored through, as also the office for S. Thomas, which is carefully scored out, particularly the name of the saint. But a most interesting feature of this manuscript is the use that has been made of the Calendar for the record of the births and deaths of a family named Ewer, to whom the book evidently belonged. These entries I propose to give in full, as they will be of some interest to the present representatives of the Ewer family. In the account of the parish of South Mimms, by the Rev. F. C. Cass, published in 1877 by the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, a pedigree of one branch of the Ewer family is given, dating for the most part from the middle of the 17th century; and it would be interesting to know, if any of the Ewers mentioned in the earlier parts of Mr. Cass's pedigree could be identified with the Ewers recorded in this manuscript. However this may be, I will give the entries as they stand. In the Calendar over January :—

"John Berne owe thys boke / sometyme."

April 24—"Nativitas Marci Ewer octavi filii Jo. Ewer de Pynner "natus 24° die Aprilis A° dni. 1585 int horas quint et sext ante "meridiem ejusdem diei existens dies Sabbati."

June 5—"Nativitas Iheronimi Ewer septimi filii Jo. Ewer de "Pynner nat 5. die Juny existens die martis int horas/ /post "meridiem A° Dni 1582 A° R. E. Rg^e 24."

June 10—"Obit Johis Ewer sen^r de Pynner octavo die Junii "A° Dni 1589 A° R Eliz xxxi° existens dies dominicalis int horas "primam et duam post meridiem."

June 25—"Nativitas Robus Ewer sextogeniti Jo Ewer de

"Pynner nat die mercurii inter horas primam et tcia' (tertiam) post "meridiem Anno dni. 1578 et A° R Eliz. Regæ 20."

July 2—"Obitus Johis Symonds de Southmymes in com midd "(comitatu Middlesex) secundo die hujus mensis a° dni 1571, et "a° Eliz Reⁿᵉ 13."

July 7—"Nativitas Edward Ewer quintogeniti Johis Ewer de "Pynner nat die dominical int horas sext et septem in aurora anno "dni 1577 et a° Eliz Regæ Angl. 19."

July 9—"Nativitas .. Katine (Catherine) Ewer filie Jo Ewer de "Pynner nat die Jovis int horas et anno dni. 1579, et a° R Eliz. "Reg 21°."

July 14—"Nativitas Johis Ewer quartogenito Johis Ewer de "Pynner nat die Jovis int horas secundam et quartam in aurora. "anno dni. 1575, et anno R Eliz. Regine Angl 17°."

July 16—"Nativitas Henrici Ewer nonus filius Johis Ewer de "Pynner nat die dominicalis post noctem int horas x et xii. 1587. "et A° Re Eliz 29°."

September 8—"Obit Radi (Ralph) Ewer de Watford Senr œtatis "sui A° Di 1575 et A° R. Eliz. 17."

September 18—"Nativitas T. Ewer secundigeniti J. E. nat "aurora int horas 5 and 6 existens die Jovis. A° Di 1567 Eliz 9."

Oct. 10—"Obitus Willim Boleyn Militis qui obiit A° Dni M ccccc quinto."

Dec. 1—"Obitus henr. Ewer noni fili Johis Ewer de Pynner in "aurora int horas xᵃᵐ et xiᵃᵐ die scdo (secundo) Decembris existens "die Sabbi A° 1587 et Anno Eliz. Rege xxx°."

Dec. 7—"Nativitas Simonis Ewer primogeniti J. Ewer nat in "aurora circiter horas 12 et 1 existens die veneris. A° Dni. 15(65.) "Et A° Re Eliza Rene viii."

Dec. 20—"Nativitas Radi (Ralph) Ewer tertiogeniti J. Ewer "natus in vigilii sci T. . . . . circa horam secundam et tertiam "existens die lunæ ad noctem 1568 et A° Eliz. Rnᵉ xi° apud South-"mymes."

Since the above was written, I have received the following note from the Rev. F. C. Cass :—

"(1) The will of Sir William Boleyn, Knt., of Blickling, co. Norfolk, "dated 8th Oct., 1505, was proved on 27th Nov. following. He "was buried in Norwich Cathedral. His son, Sir Thomas Boleyn, "was the father of Anne Boleyn, wife of Henry VIII. I have dis-"covered no reason for the insertion of his name in a book belonging "to the Ewers. Perhaps the volume was his property before it came "into their possession. (P.C.C. Book Holgrave 40.)

"(2) John Symonds, of South Mimms, left two daughters, Katharine "and Maude or Maudlin. The latter was married to John Ewer at "South Mimms. (John Ewer and Mawlyn Symonds, m. Sept. 25th, "1565, *Par. Reg.*) The other daughter, Katharine, married, "presumably after her father's death, Thomas Bellamy, whose "brother, Jerome, was executed in Sept. 1586, for complicity with "the Babington conspiracy, which immediately led to the trial of "Mary Queen of Scots. The will of John Symonds of South "Mimms, yeoman, dated 28th March, 1571, was proved 30th July, "1571, (P.C.C. Book Holney 33,) by his son-in-law John Ewer,

"the sole executor. He mentions Ralph Ewer, the third son of "John and Maude Ewer (born, as stated above, Dec. 20th, 1568), "and, after leaving a house at South Mimms to Agnes his wife for "life, devises the remainder of the same to 'Thomas Ewer, one of "'the younger sons of the said John and Maude Ewer.' There is "no mention of any son Thomas in the above Calendar, but as John, "the fourth son, was not born until July 14th, 1575, after the "decease of John Symonds, the reference is probably to the second "son, born Sept. 18th, 1567, and set down above as T. Ewer. It "is perhaps worthy of note that the seventh son, born June 5th, "1582, is named *Jerome*.

"The above-mentioned Thomas Bellamy bequeathed his residuary "property to his widow Katharine (Ewer), who, in her turn, appa- "rently being without issue, left all her estate to her cousin, John "Ewer, meaning doubtless her nephew John, the fourth son of her "sister, Maude Ewer.

"The Ewers were very widely spread over Middlesex and Herts, and "though some of the name were connected with South Mimms, I "am unable to find at present the relationship, if any, between them "and the Pinner family. Neither can I establish the relationship, "which doubtless subsisted, with Ralph Ewer, sen., of Watford, "whose death is recorded in the Calendar as having taken place "Sept. 8th, 1575. One Roger Ewer of Malden, Surrey, yeoman, "whose will was proved 9th Nov., 1592, had property at Watford, "where he 'lately dwelt.' He had a son Ralph, and may have been "himself the son of Ralph Ewer, sen. I suppose the John Ewer, "sen., of Pinner, who died June 10th, 1589, must have been the "same who married Maude Symonds."

I venture to give a copy of the following Latin Hymn, as I do not know that it has been printed elsewhere, excepting the first verse, which is given by Mone, Vol. II, p. 208, copied from a MS. at Salzburg. Mone gives several examples of paraphrase hymns on the antiphon "Salve regina":—

*Salve.*
Salve virgo virginum
Stella matutina
Sordidorum criminum
Vera medicina
Consolatrix hominum
Qui sunt in ruina
Precibus precancium
Mater te inclina.

*Regina.*
Regina regnancium
Virgo puellaris
Peperisti filium
Mater singularis
Sacratum palacium
Dei convocaris
Divinum auxilium
Nobis largiaris.

*Misericordiæ.*
Fons misericordiæ
Dici meruisti.
Atque mater graciæ
Quando concepisti.
Summum regem gloriæ
Quem post peperisti
Largitorem veniæ
Mundo contulisti.

*Vita.*
Vita via veritas
Est de terra nata
Et semper virginitas
Restat illibata.
Nam tua humilitas
Fuit operata
Quod in te divinitas
Esset incarnata.

*Dulcedo.*
Dulcedo dulcedinis
Fructus benedictus
Ventris tui virginis
Agnus dei dictus
Cujus unda sanguinis
Homo derelictus
Latus labe criminis
Est et demon victus.

*Et spes Nostra.*
Et spes nostra solida
Es virgo Maria
Virgo Jesse florida
Ut in Isaia
Rore cœli madida
Dicit prophecia
Pulchra ut nix candida
Dei mater pia.

*Salve.*
Salve lux fidelium
Fulgens ut aurora.
Quæ es supra lilium
Pulchra et decora.
Omne quod est noxium
Tolle sine mora.
Et Dei auxilium
Pro nobis implora.

*Ad te.*
Ad te clamant miseri
Multum desolati
Nobis aures aperi
Pectoris sacrati.

Ut a fauce inferi
Per te liberati
Consequamur liberi
Viam tui nati.

*Clamamus.*

Clamamus devocius
Ad te suspirantes.
Et affectuosius
Te pie precantes.
Dele quod interius
Male cogitantes.
Gessimus exterius
Opere peccantes.

*Exules.*

Exules exilio
Omnes sumus dati.
Pro parentis vicio
Gloria privati
Paradysi gaudio
Et exorbitati.
Tuo beneficio
Sumus reparati.

*Filii.*

Filii suspiria
Prodere coguntur
Mundi pro miseria
Per quam involvuntur.
Ad damnata vicia
Sæpe dilabuntur.
Sed misericordia
Tua fulciuntur.

*Eve.*

Eve lapsus intulit
Damnum desperatum
Et a nobis abstulit
Gaudium beatum.
Quod post Evam contulit
Verbum incarnatum
Quando mortem sustulit
Delevit peccatum.

*Ad te.*

Ad te clamant jugiter
Tui famulantes.
Et in te fideliter
Homines sperantes.
Juvamen humiliter
Tuum implorantes.
Quos misericorditer
Audias clamantes.

*Suspiramus.*

Suspiramus fletibus
Nostris pro peccatis.
Et multis gemitibus
Per nos perpetratis.
Sed in te confidimus
Mater pietatis.
Vere penitentibus
Veniam da gratis.

*Gementes.*

Gementes recolimus
Mala retroacta.
Quæ inique gessimus
Mente non coacta.
Sed in te confidimus
Maria intacta
Ut a te quæ petimus
Sint in nobis facta.

*Et Flentes.*

Et flentes doloribus
Mente verecunda.
Lumen nostris cordibus
Infundæ fecunda.
Viciorum sordibus
Nos benigne munda.
Junge nos celestibus
Maria jocunda.

*In hac valle.*

In hac valle misera
Multum tenebrosa
Hominum sunt genera
Plurimum fedosa.
Nam eorum corpora
Sunt contagiosa
Propter facta scelera
Et obprobriosa.

*Lacrimarum.*

Lacrimarum rivuli
Non prosunt vel aquæ.
Quin senes et parvuli
Et plebs unaquaque.
Timeant quod emuli
Querant circumquaque.
Et fraus hujus seculi
Trahat usquequaque.

*Eya Ergo.*

Eya ergo dirige
Ad te nostras mentes.
Atque lapsos erige
Conforta trementes.
Et errantes corrige
Te pie querentes.
Miseros nos dirige
In te confidentes.

*Advocata.*

Advocata libera
Coram salvatore
Postulare propera
Consueto more.
Ac pro gente misera
Benigno favore
Natum tuum mitiga
Materno amore.

*Nostra.*

Nostra spes fidelium
Semper fuit talis
Est et erit omnium
Mater virginalis.
Ut nobis non noceat
Demon infernalis.
Protegat et nutriat
Ac foveat sub alis.

*Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.*

Illos pios oculos
Et misericordes.
Converte ad famulos
In bono discordes.
Et ad malum sedulos
Forcius concordes
Nostre carnis stimulos
Deleas et sordes.

*Et Jesum benedictum fructum.*

Jesum unigenitum
Fructum benedictum
Monstra nobis inclitum
Pium et non fictum
Per quem genus perditum
A demone devictum
Datum in interitum
Renixit invictum.

*Ventris Tui.*

Ventris tui viscera
Jesum portaverunt.
Et beata ubera
Ipsum lactaverunt.
Cui Judei vulnera
Diva intulerunt.
Et eum post verbera
Cruci tradiderunt.

*Nobis post hoc exilium ostende.*

Nobis post hoc exilium
Benignum ostende
Jesum tuum filium
Et nobis impende
Verum patrocinium
Et manum extende.
Cum nos ad judicium
Ducimur defende.

*O Clemens.*

O Clemens clemencia
Summæ bonitatis.

Adonay filia
Flos virginitatis,
Dei plena gratia
Fons humilitatis,
Virginum leticia
Stola caritatis.

*O pia.*

O pia piisima
Regina cœlorum
Camera dignissima
Dei sœculorum
Virgo prudentissima
Gemma confessorum
Atque jocundissima
Laus apostolorum.

*O Dulcis.*

O dulcis dulcissima
Super favum melle
Columba castissima
Carens omni felle
Mater benignissima
Juxta nostrum velle.
Tu cuncta fedissima
A nobis repelle.

*Maria.*

Maria eximia
Natum deprecare
Ut quicunque omnia
Hec vult recitare
In tui memoria
Et te collaudare
Dignetur in gloria
Sua collocare.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The President, *Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A.*, in his opening address, commented upon the past, present, and future work of the Society. Taking the Prospectus issued by the Council last year for his text, as setting forth the true duties of such a body, the President went on to review the prospects of carrying out this programme successfully. Thirty-one years ago, when the Society was inaugurated, its founders stated that considerable public interest was evinced in local archæology; and if such a statement was true in 1848, it was more emphatically so in 1879; and if the activity of thirty-one years ago justified the formation of such an association, the interest which we see to-day fully justifies every effort on our part to maintain its efficiency.

Nearly a whole generation of mankind has passed away since the Society was formed; most of its originators are living still, but are justly entitled to withdraw from active management, whilst some of the younger men take their place at the helm.

Referring to the publications issued by the Society, the President dwelt upon their utility as a mine of reference for the local historian. The nature of the circumstances surrounding the Society, its intimate connection with Liverpool, etc., had caused some of its publications to be rather miscellaneous in character; but the members owe a debt of gratitude to those who in their day did the best that opportunity offered, and gave the Society its position, and kept it alive.

As regards the present day, the newspapers alone are a sufficient indication of the universal interest in local archæology. Everywhere there seems to be a desire to make permanent the fleeting records of the past; and under the existing system of a division of labour, this Association will find plenty of special work to do, and plenty of public sympathy and support, provided it keeps to a true and consistent line of action.

The President then dwelt upon the points suggested in the circular issued by the Council last year, and defined the "History of Lancashire and Cheshire" on a broad basis, as including all facts of importance connected with the natural history as well as with the human history of those counties. He further suggested that members should be invited systematically to send communications to the Secretary of interesting facts that may come within their knowledge, which are not of sufficient importance to form a studied paper, but invaluable when printed in the volume as an accumulating mass of solid

information. The President instanced the duties of the local Secretaries appointed by the Society of Antiquaries as an example of such a system as he recommended. Referring to the manner in which the work of the Society intended for publication should be done, the President gave several valuable suggestions for securing the accuracy necessary in such work. He entered at length upon the necessity of going to original documents, and of giving all references with extreme accuracy and fulness. In conclusion, the President appealed to the members of the Society to come forward and support its work by their intelligent interest.

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*November 27th, 1879.*

THOMAS G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By J. Harris Gibson, Hon. Curator.

1. An Ancient Triple Cross (silver,) consisting of a crucifix, the limbs terminating in cherubim ; above, a radiation, I.N.R.I., and loop. Suspended from each limb, a small crucifix, heads of the figures radiated. At the foot of the cross, attached by a hinge, a cornelian heart, faceted on both sides, enclosed in a silver frame, and surrounded by a crown of thorns. Full length, four inches.
2. A porcelain half-pint cup, oriental, with masonic emblems painted and enamelled, and the initials W. S. in gold.

By J. O'Byrne.

1. Two obsidional coins of five and one francs, struck by the French under General Gauttier, when besieged in Cattaro by the English and Montenegrins, 1813.
2. Two obsidional coins : a double thaler, or 9 fr. 20 c. ; and a thaler, or 4 fr. 20 c., struck by the French in Zara, when besieged by the Austrians under General Nugent, assisted by the British fleet.
3. A pattern 60 shillings (Scots) of James II, 1688.
4. A pattern 60 shillings (Scots) of James VIII, the Old Pretender, 1716. The dies for these coins were not used. They were discovered in 1828, and sixty impressions only from each die were taken ; the dies were then defaced and deposited in the British museum.
5. A large silver coronation medallion of Edward VI. Inscription in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. Supposed to have been struck at the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, by Archbishop Cranmer's moneyers employed at his mint at Canterbury.
6. A large and rare silver medallion of Oliver Cromwell, made in Holland. *Obv.* Large portrait of the Protector. *Rev.* A portrait of Masaniello.

7. An interesting and rare double-giulio of Pope Clement VII, 1523 to 1534. The die for this coin was engraved by the celebrated artist Benvenuto Cellini.

The following papers were read :—

1. ON THE COINS FORMING A NECKLACE, FOUND IN S. MARTIN'S CHURCH YARD, CANTERBURY, AND NOW IN THE MAYER MUSEUM AT LIVERPOOL.* *By the late Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh, F.S.A.*

2. NOTES HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN RELATING TO LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.† *By J. Harris Gibson, Hon. Curator.*

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*December 11th, 1879.*

J. G. JACOB, Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By J. O'Byrne.

Two Roman gold coins, viz. :—1. Leo I, Emperor of the East, A.D. 457. *Obv.* D.N. LEO . PERPET . AVG. The emperor helmeted, with spear and shield. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG. Victory marching with cross, to the left. A star and the Greek delta in the field. Exergue CONOB. Struck at Constantinople. 2. Tiberius Constantine II, Emperor of the East, A.D. 578. *Obv.* D N . T I 6 . CONSTANT . P . P . AVG. Full face of the Emperor, crowned, holding orb and cross. *Rev.* VICTORIA . AVGGI. A cross, limbs potent, shaft resting on five steps or degrees. Exergue, CONOB. Struck at Constantinople.

By J. Harris Gibson, Hon. Curator.

1. Chester Poll Books :—
   1. Election 1747. Candidates—Sir Robert Grosvenor, 1049; Mr. Warburton, 928; Mr. Mainwaring, 758.
   2. Election 1784. Candidates—Mr. Grosvenor, 713; Mr. Bootle, 626; Mr. Crewe, 480; Mr. Barnston, 38.
   3. Election 1812. Candidates—General Grosvenor, 627; Mr. Egerton, 602; Sir R. Brooke, 575; Mr. Townshend, 537. The latter containing the songs, squibs, and letters issued during the election.
2. A curious old book, 8vo, containing the Proverbs of Solomon, in Hebrew, without points, Irish (old character), and English. Without date or printer's name.

* *Transactions*, p. 91. † *Transactions*, p. 143.

3. A bronze opium pipe, of peculiar form, with chain and cover. Inside, a long telescope tube, and hollow cylinder, perforated at the top, for holding opium.

The following paper was read :—

ON SOME ANCIENT CHESHIRE CUSTOMS. *By Joseph Smith, Jun.*

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*January 8th, 1880.*

J. A. FORREST, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By C. T. Gatty, F.S.A , Hon. Secretary.

1. Several assegais ; a shield of bullock's hide, the variegated colours denoting that it belonged to a married man ; a warrior's head-dress made of cow's skin ; war dress made of cow's tails ; a pipe made of a bullock's horn ; skin pouch containing bullets, cap, &c., picked up on the battle-field of Ulundi ; domestic utensils, and a quantity of personal ornaments—brought from Zululand during the war, and presented by J. M. Jones to the Free Public Museum.
2. A number of badges in brass and other metals, and tri-coloured ribbons, worn during the French revolution of 1790.
3. Two mediæval caskets or coffers of brass (?) inscribed, apparently, "MA "HOC PONEN."(?)
4. Portion of an inscribed brass ; (Mayer Museum, No. 5644), reading—"Hic "jacet Robertus Skattignill, (?) Anno Domini MCC."
5. Mediæval pilgrim's metal badge or sign, of very beautiful workmanship ; the Annunciation, enclosed within a double rose. (Mayer Mus., No. 8212.)

Mediæval Pilgrim's Badge.

By J. Harris Gibson, Hon. Curator.

Medals for saving life :—

1. Medal of the Royal National Society for the Preservation of Life from Shipwreck. Silver. *Obv.* Head of George the Fourth—GEORGE THE FOURTH PATRON. Legend—ROYAL NATIONAL INSTITUTION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF LIFE FROM SHIPWRECK, 1824. *Rev.* Three men in a life-boat rescuing a drowning sailor. LET NOT THE DEEP SWALLOW ME UP. Long bar and

swivel. Ribbon, light blue. Edge inscribed—EDWARD TUTT VOTED 16TH JANY 1851.

*Extract from the Society's Annual Report for the year* 1851 :—"January 16. The ship Mountaineer, from Quebec to Newport, "wrecked 15th December in Dunmanus Bay, on the coast of Cork, "crew of 28 persons saved. A case of distinguished gallantry. Gold "medallion to Lieut. Goss, R.N., of the Dunmanus coast-guard "station, and a silver medal to each of his five men." One of the men was Edward Tutt, coast-guard boatman, Dunmanus. Edward Tutt was an old man-of-war's man, and served on the coast of Syria, Nov., 1840, when the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre was captured by Admiral Sir Robert Stopford. He received the navy war medal with clasp—SYRIA.

2. Liverpool Humane Society's Medal. Oval. Silver. *Obv.* A sailor kneeling upon a piece of wreck, rescuing a woman and child from the waves ; in the distance, the crew of a life-boat are rescuing a man. Legend—LIVERPOOL SHIPWRECK AND HUMANE SOCIETY 1839. *Rev.* Within a wreath of oak—THOMAS DOYLE STAGE CONSTABLE APRIL, 1868. The edge inscribed—FOR GALLANLTY JUMPING INTO THE RIVER AND SAVING A WOMAN AND FOR OTHER SIMILAR NOBLE ACTS. Attached to the medal, the town's crest, bar, and ribbon—on the latter are two sliding bars, inscribed, (1) 18th JANUARY 1871 ; (2) 10th LIFE 23 DECEMBER 1872. Ribbon, dark blue.

3. United States Gold Medal. *Obv.* The crew of a life-boat rescuing a man from the waves, a wreck in the distance. Legend—UNITED STATES OF AMERICA LIFE SAVING MEDAL OF THE FIRST CLASS. *Rev.* Columbia, holding a wreath, inscribing a pedestal, upon which is engraved—JOHN DOLMAN WRECK OF THE ELLEN SOUTHARD AUG. 12, 1875. The American eagle, wings expanded, above ; at the side, an anchor, sail, and sextant. Legend—IN TESTIMONY OF HEROIC DEEDS IN SAVING LIFE FROM THE PERILS OF THE SEA. Excrgue—ACT OF CONGRESS JUNE 20, 1874.—The ship Ellen Southard was wrecked at the mouth of the Mersey. The Liverpool and New Brighton life-boats put off to the rescue. The crew were taken on board the Liverpool boat, when she capsized. The captain, his wife, and four of the Ellen Southard's crew, together with three life-boat men were drowned, the rest were rescued by the New Brighton boat. The American consul, General Fairchild, sent an account of the gallantry displayed by the life-boat men to the United States ; when a special Act of Congress was passed, and twenty-five first-class gold medals were sent to Liverpool for the survivors. The medals, which are fine gold, weighing 3ozs. each, were presented at the Town Hall, by Edward Whitley, Esq., deputy-mayor.

The following papers were read :—

1. MAYER COLLECTION NOTES. *By C. T. Gatty, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary.*

2. THE POST-GLACIAL FORMATIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LIVERPOOL. *By Charles Potter.*

*January 22nd, 1880.*

THOMAS G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By J. Harris Gibson, Hon. Curator.

1. K. Alkemades; Gold and Silver Coins of the Princes and Princesses of Holland. Printed at Delft, 1700; from the library of the Prince of Montenuovo.
2. Some specimens of Roman tesseræ.
3. Eight Saxon stycas of Eanred and Ethelred, kings of Northumbria, and Vigmund, archbishop of York. Found at Hexham in 1832.

The following communication on these coins was read by Mr. Gibson :—

The eight Anglo-Saxon stycas before you, formed a part of the great hoard accidentally discovered at the west side of the north transept of Hexham church, Northumberland, on the 15th October, 1832. They were given to me, January 17th, 1880, by an old gentleman who had had them in his possession ever since the discovery.

It was estimated at the time that the total number of stycas found would be nearly eight thousand. Of these, about two thousand were dispersed before the bulk of the coins could be properly secured. A full account of the discovery has been given in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, by John Adamson, Esq.*

Of the secured coins there were a few of Heardulf, 2000 of Eanred, 2000 of Ethelred, 100 of Redulf, 60 of Archbishop Eanbald, 800 of Vigmund. The following are descriptions of the pieces, which undoubtedly were some of those that fell into the hands of private individuals.

EANRED, 808—840.

1. *Obv.* EANRED REX, a cross after X. In the centre a dot or pellet within a small circle. *Rev.* Moneyer's name MONNE, a well-defined cross, a dot with a circle, a dot between the N's, edge beaded.
2. *Obv.* EANRED REX, a cross. A cross in the centre. *Rev.* Moneyer's name FORDRED, a cross. A cross in the centre, beaded edge.

ETHELRED, 840—844.

3. *Obv.* EDILRD . REX, a cross. A cross in the centre. *Rev.* The reverse of this styca has been twice struck; the moneyer's name is not intelligible.
4. *Obv.* EDLIRED REX. A small cross in the centre. *Rev.* Moneyer's name MONNE ⁘ three dots forming a triangle after E. A cross. In the centre, a cross with a dot in each angle.

VIGMUND, Archbishop of York, died 854.

5. *Obv.* VIGMVNDI REP, a cross. A cross in the centre. *Rev.* Moneyer's name EDILVRED (Edilvreth or Edilveard), a cross. A cross in the centre. The letters L V and E are inverted.

* *Archæologia*, vol. XXV, p. 279.

6. VIGMUND. *Obv.* VIGMVNDI REP, a cross. In the centre a cross, with a dot in each angle. *Rev.* Moneyer's name COENRED, a cross. A cross in the centre.
7. VIGMUND. *Obv.* VIGMVNDI REP, a cross. A cross in the centre. *Rev.* Moneyer's name COENRED, a cross. A cross in the centre.
8. VIGMUND. *Obv.* VIGMVND, a cross. A cross in the centre. *Rev.* Moneyer's name HVNLAF, a cross. A cross in the centre, a dot between L and A. This is the best minted piece. The letters are well shaped, and some attempt at ornamentation is noticeable. The terminations of the limbs of the crosses and a few of the letters are trefoil or *botonée*.

The following paper was read :—

THE MINOR ROMAN STATIONS IN LANCASHIRE.* *By W. T. Watkin.*

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*February 5th, 1880.*

THOMAS G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Charles Potter.

Several specimens of the stone age implements, consisting of flint arrow-heads, broken celt, bone scoop, comb; also some Roman fibulæ.

The following paper was read :—

ON THE POST-GLACIAL FORMATIONS OF THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, (with special reference to a paper read before the Society during a past Session, by T. M. Reade, C.E., F.G.S.) *By Charles Potter.*

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*February 19th, 1880.*

The Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary.

1. A female dress, curiously ornamented with pink and black bead-work, from Zululand.
2. A horn snuff-bottle, also from Zululand.

* *Transactions*, p. 67.

By H. Bendall.

A stone hatchet, found in Jamaica, 2½ in. long and 1½ in. broad, finely shaped and polished.

The following paper was read :—

ON SOME OBSOLETE PECULIARITIES OF ENGLISH LAW.* *By William Beamont, Vice-President.*

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*March 4th, 1880.*

THOMAS G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By F. J. Bailey, Vice-President.

A scarce dollar of the republic of Uruguay, dated 1844. *Rev.* "Sitio "de Monte Video."

By J. Harris Gibson, Hon. Curator.

1. An edition of Horace. Paris, 1828. Printed by Henri Didot, in half-diamond type. The size of the book is 2⅛ in. by 1⅛ in.
2. A bill or note for four Spanish milled dollars, according to resolution of Congress. Georgia, 1776. Issued the year of Independence U.S. America.

By J. Eglington Bailey, F.S.A.

1. *Contemplatio Mortis et Fors Mortalitatis.* This is the first and surreptitious edition of Manchester al Mondo.
2. *Solomon's Sententiæ, 1525.* The Proverbs of Solomon, with autograph and marginal notes by Archbishop Cranmer, the property of Leigh Grammar school.

By W. E. A. Axon.

1. *Treatyse of Fysshynge with an Angle.* Re-printed from the book of St. Albans, by William Pickering, with the types of Baskervylle.
2. *Cato Censorius Christianus.* Theodore Bezae Auctore, apud J. Thornesium, 1591.

By T. N. Morton.

1. The Works of Tertullian, folio. Froben's edition. Basle, 1528, containing the autograph of Archbishop Cranmer. This book was formerly in the British Museum.

* *Transactions*, p. 1.

2. A very old and curious deed of exchange, on a small piece of parchment, 6 in. by 5 in. Not dated, but supposed to have been written about 1250. The deed is in the following terms :—

"Benedict son of Symon grants to Richard Blundell certain lands "in Hynes (Ince Blundell) and Barton (in the parish of Halsall) in "exchange for one bovate of land in Hynes. Witness—Adam de "Molynewes, Robert de Molynewes, William de Molynewes, John de "Lee, Symon de Halsale, Alan de Norreys, Adam de Aynolesdale "(Ainsdale), Henry de Eyntre (Aintree.)"

The following papers were read :—

1. THE CLAYTON FAMILY OF THELWALL, CO. CHESTER.* *By J. P. Rylands, F.S.A.*

2. THE PARSONAGE OF WIGAN IN THE YEAR 1639. *By J. Eglington Bailey, F.S.A.*

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*March 18th, 1880.*

THOMAS G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By F. J. Bailey, Vice-President.

1. A very rare crown piece, time of Cromwell, modelled by Sam Cooper, issued a few months before his death, and suppressed. It bears on the one side the following inscription :—"Olivar Dei Gratia "Reipublicae Anglorum, Scotorum, Hiberniae, Protector." On the other the date, 1658, and the words—"Pax Quaeritur Bello." On the edge—"Has - Nisi - Perituras - Mihi - Adimet - Nemo." This coin seems to have been struck from the die after it had been repaired as the die which produced the first crowns broke on the neck ; these show a flaw, and are called "Simon's Crowns."

2. A stirrup, said to be Roman, found in Lancaster, corner of Pudding lane, with a sketch of the old building, supposed also to be Roman, where the stirrup was found.

The following paper was read :—

WINWICK AND CULCHETH IN LANCASHIRE ; THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY. *By Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., President.*†

* *Transactions*, page 35. † *Transactions*, p. 53.

*April 1st, 1880.*

F. J. BAILEY, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.

1. A dish, like an alms-dish, made from the oak of York Minster, soon after the fire there, originated by Martin the incendiary. In the centre is a cross, and on the border a shield of arms, made from the fused bell-metal. This was formerly the property of the Rev. Robert Fort, incumbent of Kirkby.
2. A bronze dish, similar in form and size, but ornamented throughout with figures in relief. The series round the rim is supposed to represent the various scenes in the parable of the prodigal son.

The following paper was read :—

THE RURAL LIFE OF A LANCASHIRE MINISTER 150 YEARS AGO.* *By James Bromley.*

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*April 15th, 1880.*

F. J. BAILEY, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A number of objects were exhibited by Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A.

The following paper was read :—

THE HARINGTON MONUMENT IN CARTMEL CHURCH.† *By W. O. Roper.*

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*October 5th, 1880.*

F. J. BAILEY, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Special General Meeting of the Society was held, in order to receive from the Council the amended Laws of the Society.

The Laws having been read by the Secretary, it was moved by E. W. M. HANCE, seconded by CHARLES POTTER, and unanimously resolved :—

"That the amended Laws of the Historic Society of Lancashire and "Cheshire be adopted, and printed for circulation amongst the "members."

* *Transactions*, p. 117. † *Transactions*, p. 147.

## THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

1878-79. *In Account with* JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.* SESSION XXXI.

| RECEIPTS. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct. 18—Balance in hand ..... | 71 | 7 | 11 |
| Subscriptions :— | | | |
| Arrears ..... | 13 | 2 | 6 |
| Session xxxi..... | 51 | 19 | 6 |
| Session xxxii ..... | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Life Composition .... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Books sold ..... | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| | £147 | 19 | 11 |

| PAYMENTS. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Volume xxxi :— | | | |
| Printing .....£65 0 0 | | | |
| Illustrations ..... 3 16 3 | | | |
| | 68 | 16 | 3 |
| Sessional Expenses :— | | | |
| Rent, Royal Institution ..... | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Refreshments ..... | 8 | 16 | 6 |
| Miscellaneous Printing ..... | 14 | 19 | 8 |
| Secretary's Miscellaneous Expenses ..... | 0 | 11 | 10 |
| Postages and Stationery, per Treasurer ..... | 1 | 18 | 3 |
| Royal Insurance ..... | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Asst. Secretary's Salary ..... | 12 | 12 | 0 |
| Collector's Commission ..... | 1 | 11 | 10 |
| C. T. Gatty. (For Burley Hill Excavation) ..... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Railway Cart..... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Postage, &c., per Assistant Secretary ..... | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Miscel. Expenses, Postages, &c., per Hon. Secretary .. | 3 | 0 | 11 |
| | £132 | 16 | 5 |
| Balance in hand ..... | 15 | 3 | 6 |
| | £147 | 19 | 11 |

E. & O. E.

JOHN G. JACOB.

Audited,

FRANCIS JAMES BAILEY.

## NEW MEMBERS ELECTED.

| | |
|---|---|
| Dec. 11, 1879. | Howorth Henry H., Derby House, Eccles, near Manchester. |
| | Culshaw Alfred, Park Avenue, Mossley Hill, Liverpool. |
| | Dun John, Rock Villas, Latchford, near Warrington. |
| | Clayton Ralph C., 24, Derwent road, Old Swan, Liverpool. |
| | Brodrick Alan H., 18, Pelham grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool. |
| | Rathbone Philip H., Greenbank cottage, Wavertree, Liverpool. |
| | Sherratt James S., Bold street, Warrington. |
| | Willett Henry, Arnold House, Brighton. |
| Jan. 8, 1880. | Lightfoot John E., Quarry hill, Accrington. |
| | Boothroyd Samuel, Southport. |
| | Paley Edward G., Lancaster. |
| | Bendall Herbert, 7, Deane road, Fairfield, Liverpool. |
| | Leeming William, Eaton House, Eaton road, West Derby, Liverpool. |
| Jan. 23, 1880. | Christie Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, Darley House, Matlock, Derbyshire. |
| Feb. 5, 1880. | Grazebrook George, F.S.A., Oakhill park, Old Swan, Liverpool. |
| | Cowell Peter, Free Public Library, Liverpool. |
| March 4, 1880. | Sharp William, Sankey street, Warrington. |
| April 1, 1880. | Stanning Rev. Joseph Heaton, The Vicarage, Leigh, Lancashire. |
| | Fishwick Lt.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale. |
| | Morris Claude John, The Mount, Altrincham. |
| | Long William, Thelwall Heys, Warrington. |

# DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

## I.—ENGLAND.

Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society;—Report of, for Session xxi, 1877-78.

Buckinghamshire. Records of, vol. v, No. 2.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society;—Report of, 1873-76.

Philosophical Society;—Transactions of, vol. iii, parts 3, 4, 5, 6.

Cornwall. Royal Institution;—Journal of, No. 21.

Polytechnic Society;—Forty-sixth Annual Report of, 1878.

Essex Archæological Society:—Transactions of, vol. ii, part 1, New Series.

Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society;—Annual Report of, 1878-79.

Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society;—Transactions of, vol. v, part 1.

Liverpool. Naturalists' Field Club;—Report of, 1879.

Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Free Public Library, Museum, &c., for 1879.

London. The Archæological Journal, vol. xxxv, Nos. 137, 138; vol. xxxvi, Nos. 141, 142, 143.

Society of Antiquaries, vol. vii, Nos. 5, 6; vol. viii, Nos. 1, 2.

Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xi, part 3; vol. xii, part 1.

Geological Society;—Quarterly Journal of, vol. xxxii, No. 127; vol. xxxiv, No. 135; vol. xxxv, Nos. 138, 140.

London and Middlesex Archæological Society;—Transactions of, part 15 (second part of vol. v.)

Royal Society;—Proceedings of, Nos. 194, 195, 197, 199, 200.

Society of Arts;—Journal of, Nos. 1378 to 1421 (Nos. 1384, 1404, and 1405 wanting.)

Statistical Society; Journal of, vol. xlii, parts 1, 2, 3, 4.

Montgomeryshire. Historical and Archæological Collections relating to, vol. xii, parts 3—25; vol. xiii, part 26.

Somersetshire. Archæological and Natural History Society;—Transactions of, New Series, vol. iii. Proceedings of, vol. xxiv.

Yorkshire. Archæological and Topographical Society;—Journal of, parts 20 and 21.

Geological and Polytechnical Society;—Proceedings of, vol. vii, part 2, Second Series.

2.—IRELAND.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland ;—Journal of, vol. iv, Fourth Series, Nos. 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35 ; vol. v, No. 37.

Royal Irish Academy ;—Transactions of, vols. xxvi and xxvii.
Proceedings of, vols. i, ii, and iii.

Royal Geological Society ;—Journal of, vol. xv, part 1.

Royal Geographical Society ;—Journal of, vol. xxv, part 2.

3.—SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh Royal Society ;—Proceedings of, sessions 1877-78 and 1878-79.
Transactions of, vol. xxviii, parts 1 and 2 ; vol. xxix, part 1.

Glasgow Philosophical Society ;—Proceedings of, vol. xi, No. 1.

4.—FOREIGN.

America. Smithsonian Institute ;—Report of, for 1877.

France. Memoires de la Societé Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, N.S., 1877
Bulletin de la Societé Archèologique et Historique de l'Orleanais, tome vi and vii.

Italy. Atti della Ra. Accademia dei Lincei, Terza Ser., vol. iii, fasc. 4, 5, 6, and 7 ; vol. iv, fasc. 1, 2, and 3.
Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali, vol. iv, fasc. 1.

Norway. Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1877, 4 parts ; 1878, part 1.

Switzerland. Memoires publiès par la Societé d'Histoire et d'Archæologie de Genève, tome xx, lieraison 1.

5.—MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Author. On the Daily Inequality of the Barometer. By W. W. Blundell, 1 vol, 8vo.

From Messrs. T. Couldrey and Co. Rapin's History of England, 2 vols, fol.

From the Municipal Library of Novara, Italy. Statuta Communitatis Novariæ, 1 vol, quarto.

Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the Diocese of Lincoln, County of York, &c., for 1878.

From the Author. Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway. By Mr. Holst. Christiania. 3 vols.

From the Author. Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vii, parts 1 to 3. By Charles Roach Smith.

# Communications.

## ON AN OLD ARMORIAL PANEL PAINTING,

EXHIBITED BY

MR. J. HARRIS GIBSON, 20TH FEB., 1879.

To MR. CHARLES T. GATTY,
Hon. Secretary,

DEAR SIR,

In the thirty-first volume of the *Transactions* of the Society, page 111, there is the following note of the curious armorial panel painting, which Mr. Gibson exhibited, and which then occupied the attention of the meeting and created considerable interest:—

"An old wooden panel blazoned *az.* a seated figure *or*, with "orb, sword, and radiated nimbus, impaling TREVOR; per bend "sinister *ermine* and *ermines* a lion rampant *Or*."

Although the arms here described are borne by families of the name of Trevor, they are also borne by certain families named Davies, Davis, Dymock (granted 1581), Dymoke, Edwards, Hosier, Jones, Mawson, Lloyd, Mostyn, Pennant, Yonge, and Wynne, many of them being descendants of Tudor Trevor, lord of Hereford, &c., the founder of the tribe of the Marches, who, according to tradition, bore these arms.

The dexter half of the shield contains the well-known coat of the see of Chichester, and the sinister side is occupied by the family arms of a bishop of Chichester. As only one bishop of

that see bore the arms *per bend sinister ermine and ermines a lion rampant or*, there is no difficulty in assigning them to Matthias Mawson, who occupied the see from 1740 to 1754.

The arms appear upon his monument in Ely cathedral and in a window there; they are also given as appertaining to him in Bentham's *History of Ely*. (Bedford's *Blazon of Episcopacy*.)

Matthias Mawson was of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, M.A. 1708, S.T.B. 1716. He held the offices of Taxor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and was for many years Master of Corpus. He was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1739, Bishop of Chichester in 1740, and Bishop of Ely 1770. (Le Neve's *Fasti*.) He died 23rd November, 1770, leaving £6000 to Corpus to found scholarships, and £3000 for rebuilding the college. (*Annual Register* and *Gentleman's Magazine*.) He does not seem to have committed anything to the press except sermons, which were printed 1732 to 1750. (Allibone.)

Regarding the arms of the see of Chichester, as there has long been a very ridiculous blazon used for them, I wish to call the attention of those members of this Society who are interested in heraldry to the remarks of the Rev. John Woodward in his introduction to the *Arms of the Episcopates*, illuminated by Mr. Albert H. Warren. Mr. Woodward informs us that the old blazon was *Azure a Prester John seated on a tombstone, in his left hand a mound, and his right hand extended, or, with a linen mitre on his head, and in his mouth a sword, all proper!* and that there can be little doubt that instead of Prester John the figure represents our Saviour, and is a direct allusion to Rev. i, 16; ii, 12-16; xix, 15-21. Mr. Woodward, writing of the old blazon, says:—"This "extraordinary piece of nonsense was, until now, the authoritative "blazoning, even of the officers of the College of Arms! One "heraldic writer copied it from another, without troubling about "its incongruity and absurdity."

I am, DEAR SIR,
Faithfully yours,
J. PAUL RYLANDS.

*13th December*, 1879.

# ANCIENT CHARTERS.—INCE BLUNDELL COLLECTION.

*(Communicated by T. N. Morton and the Rev. T. E. Gibson.)*

THE following charters, which are now printed for the first time, have been arranged for publication by Mr. T. N. Morton, with the kind permission of T. Weld Blundell, Esq., to whom they belong. They have been selected as interesting in point of antiquity, and as relating to property in Liverpool or its immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Morton has added to their interest by a translation of each, and by the remarks which accompany them.

No. 1 is noteworthy as one of the few charters in which the name of the progenitor of the Ince Blundell race appears. It is true that this charter of Alan de Lichet (Lydiate) is without date, but the character in which it is indited closely resembles that of the grant of John earl of Moreton in the Crosby collection, which is manifestly of the reign of Henry II. From deeds in the Coucher Book of Whalley, it is certain that Richard was the name of the father of Sir William Blundell, knt., who was a justice of the peace for Lancashire, and collector of fifteenths in 10 Henry III (1226). It is curious that another family of Blundells was flourishing at the same early period in the county of Worcester, where it continued until the reign of Henry VII. About the time of Henry II, William Blundell and Julian his wife gave lands in Stoke to the monks of Worcester.* It was

* Nash's *Worcester*, vol. 2, p. 379.

one of this family and name who was escheator of that county in 1413, which office has been erroneously assigned to a William Blundell of Ince. It is, however, questionable whether William Blundell was seated in Worcestershire earlier than the time of King Richard. The pretty story of that monarch's favourite minstrel, Blundell, naturally comes to mind when we find so many Blundells rising into notice at the same time. In the first year of his reign, Henry III directed his officers to put Robert le Escuyller in possession of the lands which "our uncle King "Richard gave to William Blundell, his brother."* Another Blundell is found in the immediate service of King John, who sends his huntsman, John le Fol, with dogs, under the charge of Blundell and others, to certain places. He tells Peter de Manley, to whom he had sent Blundell with his harriers, that if he finds him to take good care of them he must keep him, but if otherwise, remove him.†

In respect to the subject matter of the charter before us, it is singular that no mention is made of this possession of the Knights Hospitallers in the Report of Prior Philip de Thame (1338), which has been printed by the Camden Society. Yet it very much resembles the description of a property under the head of "Bajulia de Beverlec," and may have been erroneously annexed as a limb to the preceptory of Beverley. This is the more likely, as the editor appends a query, as if uncertain of its locality. The mere called "Sir Wales' or Sire Walacres mere," is probably derived from the powerful family of Waleys, a branch of which is known to have resided in the immediate neighbourhood. Its seat, Walsh Hall, still exists, and was formerly in the lordship of Up-litherland, but is now included in Aughton. It is in a secluded situation, amidst low-lying meadows, and has the remains of a moat and some ancient walling about it.

The charters 2, 3, and 4, relate to the Renacres property, purchased in 1628 by Robert Blundell, the lawyer of Gray's Inn, out of the estate of Sir Cuthbert Halsall. Other purchases were made

* *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. 1, p. 196-8. † *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 172.

by him later on, and the boundaries of the separate purchases being ill-defined, he was brought into collision with the Gerards, afterwards Earls of Macclesfield, who had bought Halsall and Downholland. The latter were successful in the first suit, and the Blundells lost a large tract of land, but they obtained a decree in their favour in regard to Renacres, to which the Gerards had subsequently laid claim as part of the township of Halsall. This estate continued in the family, annexed to the Ince Blundell property, until 1875, when it was sold by Thomas Weld Blundell, Esq., to Col. H. B. H. Blundell, of the Hollinshead Blundell family, and brother to the Rector of Halsall. It will be seen that in the first of these deeds, Richard Waleys is the first witness, followed by the name of Richard Blundell. In the next charter, Richard Waleys gives place to William Blundell and Adam le Molyneux. In charter No. 5, William Blundell appears again as the first witness; but on this occasion he ranks as a knight. There was evidently a very close connection in early times between the families of Halsall and Scarisbrick (to whom this deed relates), and there is some reason to think that the latter sprung from the former race. However this may be, very little of the history of these two knightly families has come to light.

Charter No. 8 is a short and interesting deed of Ralph, son of Adam de Bickerstat, giving lands to Cockersand Abbey. In this deed Robert de Hurltun occurs as a witness; and members of the same family are constantly cited as witnesses to Scarisbrick and other local charters. The Hurletons were of the lesser gentry, and held this position for a long period of time. The property was finally absorbed in the Scarisbrick estate, in which township Hurleton Hall lies. It is a quaint timbered mansion, after the fashion of Lydiate Hall, but has now fallen, like so many old residences of that once numerous class of proprietors, to the condition of a farm house.

One of the most interesting charters in the series is No. 9, being a grant of the monks of Cockersand, represented by Brother T., to Robert de Lostok. The well-known solicitude of

the monastic orders, both to cultivate their lands and to preserve them in good cultivation, is evinced by the last clause: "If any "land fall out of cultivation he shall pay us half a mark." This deed is undoubtedly of an early period, and it will be noticed that Henry de Chetham and his brothers occur as witnesses.

The last two charters, 10 and 11, are connected with Liverpool; the first being a settlement of Ince Manor for life on Jane, widow of William Blundell, who had died without issue. Jane Blundell was daughter of Matthew de Haydock, and this settlement was made in 1367. Henry Blundell, the brother mentioned in the deed, died also without issue, and was succeeded in the estate by the next brother, John, who lived to a good age, and was the first to use the style of Ince Blundell. Henry Blundell married Katharine, daughter of William Fitz Adam, who was mayor of Liverpool in 1378. She afterwards remarried John, son of Henry de Chatherton, and had a settlement of £10 a year upon herself and husband out of the Ince estate. Picton, in his *Memorials of Liverpool*, (vol. 1, p. 29,) gives the text of her father's will, in which he desires to be buried in the Chapel of Liverpool, "before "the face of the white image of the Virgin, which is my perpetual "place of burial."

The last deed is one of Adam le Barker de Liv'pull, and dated at this city on the Feast of Michael the Archangel (29th Sept.,) 5 Henry IV (1404.) Two half-burgages in More Street are given as a marriage portion to Sisote (Cicely) and her husband Robert de Hayle. More Street, now in one of the busiest parts of the city, took its name from the Mores of More Hall, afterwards of Bank Hall, one of whom (Thos. del More) was at that time mayor of Liverpool.

2366

INCE BLUNDELL CHARTERS,

*Transcribed and translated for the Historic Society, July, 1880, by T. N. Morton.*

| No. | From. | To. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Alan de Lichet | Hospitali Jerusalem | Runacres and Wulfou |
| 2 | Walt fil Ad. | Will. fil. Rog. | ½ Ranacres |
| 3 | „ „ „ | Alan fil. Ad. | ½ „ |
| 4 | Rob. fil. Will. | Rog. fr. meo | ½ „ |
| 5 | Sym. de Halsale | Ric. de Scaresbrek | terr. q. Hen. de Halsale q.c. to Gilb. fr. ej. |
| 6 | Bened. fil. Sym. | Ric. Blundel | jus in Hynis & Barton |
| 7 | Ric. Blundel | Bened. fil. Sym. | 1 bov. in Hynis |
| 8 | Rad. fil. Ad. de Bikerstat | Chok'sond | 2 a. in Bickerstat |
| 9 | Chok'sand convent | Rob. de Lostok | terr. in Lostock |
| 10 | Joh. de Kenyon | Johanna ux. Will. Blundel | Manor of Ince Bl. |
| 11 | Ad. le Barker de Lyvrpull | Rob'to de Hayle & Sissote | 2 half burgages in More St., Liverpul |

## I.—ALAN DE LICHET, TO THE HOSPITALLERS OF S. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Alan de Lichet consilio et consensu Sponse mee Alizie dedi et concessi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmavi Deo et sancto Johanni et beatis pauperibus hospitalis Jerusa'lem quandam terram, scilicet, Runacres et Wulfon de turnurscreke usque ad sicum quod descendit in sirewalemere et totam terram wanabilem intra divisas prenominatas in puram et perpetuam elemosinam solam et quietam ab omni seculari Servicio, cum communi pastura de Haleshale, pro salute antecessorum meorum. Ita quod ego nec heredes mei vel ju(re) exigere possim preter orationes et elemosinas; et sic dono hac elemosinam quod Alfred de Ynes illam teneat de hospitali,

Be it known to all present and to come, that I, Alan de Lichet (Lydiate) with the counsel and consent of Alice, my wife, have given and granted and, by this my present charter, have confirmed to God, to Saint John, and to the blessed poor of the Hospital of Jerusalem, certain lands, to wit: Ranacres and Wulton, from Turnur's creek unto the sike which falls into Sir Waley's mere, and all the arable land within the above-named bounds, in pure and perpetual alms only, and free from all secular services, with common pasture of Haleshale (Halsall); for the salvation of my ancestors, so that neither I nor my heirs shall be able to exact anything except prayers and

jure hereditario. Reddendo inde annuatim domui hospital xijd. ad festum sancti Bartolomei Hiis testib. Ric. bl(un)del, Gileb't de Heidoc, Will'i de Heidoc, Ric. de Lichet, Andreas de Heidoc et multis alijs qui hic non nominantur.

alms. And I so give this alms that Alfred de Ynes (Ince) may hold the lands of the Hospital with hereditary rights, paying thence annually to the House of the Hospital xii pence, at the feast of St. Bartholomew. Witnesses :— Richard Blundel, Gilbert de Haydock, Wm. de Haydock, Richard de Lydiate, Andrew de Haydock, with many others not here noted.

This charter, 6in. by 3½in., is partly damaged in the folding, and the seal is gone. The caligraphy resembles that of the reign of Stephen.

Ranacres vel Renacres = Ranulph's acres. The manor of Ranacres is in the parish of Halsall, and is next to Scarisbrick.

No date; but see Gibson's *Lydiate*, p. 88. Of these early Heidocs no other trace at present appears, but a matrimonial connexion seems probable from the presence of three of them.

2.—WALT. FIL. AD. TO WILL. FIL. ROG. ⅛ RANACRES.

Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Walt. fil. Ad'e dedi et concessi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Will. fil. Rog. octavam partem de Runacres cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, pro homagio suo et servicio in feudo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis. Tenend. et habend. de me et heredibus meis. Reddendo annuatim vi denarios qui pertinent dominio meo de quo tenet, et de incremento iij denarios michi et heredibus meis pertinentes, pro omni seruicio et consuetudine, libere et quiete, integre et honorifice, in pratis et pascuis, in moris et mariscis, in turbariis et in aquis, et in omnibus aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus que ad predictam

Be it known to those present as well as those to come, that I, Walter, son of Adam, have given and granted and, by this my present charter, have confirmed to William, son of Roger, one-eighth part of Ranacres, with all its appurtenances, for his homage and service in fee, and with hereditary rights to him and his heirs. To have and to hold of me and my heirs, paying annually vi pence, which pertains to my lord of whom it is held, and the further sum of iij pence, appertaining to me and my heirs, for all services and customs, freely, quietly, entirely, and honourably, in meadows and pastures, in moors and marshes, in turbaries and waters, and in all

terram de Runacres pertinent. Hiis testibus, Ric. Walyse, Ric. Blundel, Rob. de Hurlton, Alan de Halsale, Simo'e fil. suo, Will. de Haslewell, H'n'r. de Hol'nd, Walt'o fil. B'ndict, Will. de co'i, [communi] Ric. fil. Swain, H'n'r de Walet[on], et Alan. fil. Ad. et multis aliis.

other liberties and free customs which belong to the aforesaid land of Ranacres. Before these witnesses :—Richard Waleys, Richard Blundel, Robert de Hurlton, Alan de Halsale, Simon* his son, William de Haslewell†, Henry de Holand‡, Walter son of Benedict [de Lidiate], William de Communi [of Bursco'], Richard son of Swain, Henry de Waleton§, and Alan son of Adam, with many others.

This charter is 5¾in. by 3¾in., and is partly injured by insects ; the seal is a *fleur-de-lis* (like the next charter), but the inscription is broken off. Walter was, perhaps, Walter de Scarisbrick, a name which occurs four times in the Coucher Book of Whalley, published by the Chetham Society. The caligraphy is bold and the contractions numerous, not unlike the fac-similes given by Mr. Hulton in the Coucher Book. The scribe being, perhaps, Walter [of the community of Burscough] mentioned above.

3.—WALT. FIL. AD., TO ALAN FIL. AD. ¼ RANACRES.

Sciant tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Walt. fil. Ad. dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Alano fil. Ad'e et heredibus suis, pro homagijs suis et servicijs, Quartam partem de tota terra mea de Ruinacres cum omnibus pertinentijs suis et omnis mesuagijs quod fuit ad patri meo in feudo et hereditate, sibi et heredibus suis. Tenend. et habend. de me et heredibus meis, Reddendo mihi annuatim xij denarios ad festum

Be it known to those present as well as those to come that I, Walter, son of Adam, have given and granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed to Alan, son of Adam, and his heirs, for his homage and service One fourth part of all my land of Ranacres, with all its appurtenances, and every messuage which was my father's in hereditary fee to himself and his heirs ; To have and to hold of me and my heirs, rendering me yearly xii pence at the feast

* Simon, 1199–1216. Bursco' Charters, Records 36th Rep, p. 197.
† William de Haselwall seems to have been succeeded by John, and he by Patrick.
‡ Cf. Henr. de Holande, New Edition, Whitaker's *Whalley*, vol. ii, p. 196.
§ In 1216, Hen. de Waleton held Waleton, Formby, and Hales.

sancti Bartolomei pro omni seruicio et exactione consuetudine salvo forinceco seruicio, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et honorifice, in vijs et semitis, in pratis et pasturis, in moris et mariscis, in turbarijs et aquis, et in omnibus alijs locis et rebus ad predictam terram de Ruinacres pertinentibus. Hijs test. Will. Blundel, Ad. le Mul(ine)us, Ric. Walyse, Alan de Halsale, Simone fil. suo, Rob'o p(erson)a de Halsale, Rog. fr. suo, Henr. de Holand, Will. fil. Benedicti de Lidiate, Simone de Mahale, Henr. de Waleton, et multis alijs.

of St. Bartholomew for all customary service and exaction, saving extrinsic service, well and in peace, freely and quietly, entirely and honourably in roads and ways, in meadows and pastures, in moors and marshes, in turbaries and waters, and in all other places and things belonging to the aforesaid land of Ranacres. Before these witnesses: William Blundell,* Adam le Molyneus, Richard Walyse, Alan de Halsale, Simon his son, Robert parson of Halsale, Roger his brother, Henry de Holand, William son of Benedict de Lidiate, Simon de Mahale [Maghull], Henry de Waleton, and many others.

This deed, 5in. by 3in., is in the same handwriting as the last, and has still appended to it, by a piece of doubled party-coloured tape, 7in. long, a fine seal, 1½in. A part of the inscription is gone, but the letters WALT' are plainly seen.† The date may be approximately arrived at from the name of Alan, father of Simon de Halsale, which Simon appears alone in the Bursco' Charters, 1199-1216, p. 197 Records, 36 Rep. It may be observed that William Blundel appears in place of Richard.

4.—ROB. FIL. WILL., TO ROG. DE RANACRES. ¼ RANACRES.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rob't filius Will'i de Runacres dedi et concessi et hac mea presenti carta confirmaui Rog'o fratri meo et heredibus suis pro homagio et seruicio suo, Quartam partem

Be it known to those present and to those that come that I Robert son of William de Ranacres have given and granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed to Roger my brother and his

* William Blundel is one of the witnesses to a charter, 1201-1216, of Michael Fleming to Furness Abbey, p. 162 Records, 36 Rep. W. Prior of Kertmel (a witness to a Charter dated 1200/1) was another. *Vide* Whitaker's *Whalley*, new edition, 4to, vol. ii p. 583.

† We may therefore read the Inscription thus [SIGIL'] WALT [FIL ADE]. The singular fleur de lis is in the centre.

totius terre mee de Runacres, infra has divisas, scilicet, Incipiendo ad crucem que est super Turner-liche, sequendo sicut terra certa et mariscum se dividunt usque foveam descendentem de villa in marisco et sic deinde sequendo inter terram certam et mariscum usque ad foveam inter W(o)lf(h)ou et Runacres et ab inde sic certa terra et mossa se dividunt circa W(o)lf(h)ou ad foveam inter W(o)lf(h)ou et Sir Walacres M(er)e et ab inde ex transverso in rectitudine usque ad prenominatam crucem: Tenend. et habend. de me et heredibus meis, sibi et heredibus suis, in feudo et hereditate, libere et quiete, cum communi pastura et omnibus aisiamentis predicte terre pertinentibus prout continet in carta quam teneo de Gilberto de Halshale. Reddendo inde annuatim sex Denarios ad festum Sancti Bartholomei pro omni servicio, demanda, et exactione. Et ego Rob't et heredes mei dicto Rogero et heredibus suis hac prenominatam terram contra omnes gentes in p'petuum warantizabimus. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio, rata, stabilis et inconcussa permaneat, presenti Scripto sigillum meum imposui. Hijs testib. D'no Rob'to de Lathom, Simone de Halshale, Walt'o de Scaresbrek, Willi de Waleton, Ric. rectore ecclesie de Hut'n, Ad. de Knuslee, Ric. de Hale, Warin'o de Waleton, Joh'e de

heirs, for his homage and service, One fourth part of all my land of Ranacres within these bounds, viz., commencing at the cross which is on Turner's-liche, * proceeding just as certain land divides itself from the marsh, unto the ditch descending from the village to the marsh, and proceeding thence between the land and the marsh as far as the ditch between Wolf-hou and Ranacres, and from thence just as certain lands and moss divide themselves near Wolf-hou, to the ditch between Wolf-hou and Sir Walacres mere, and from thence across in a straight line as far as the before-named cross. To have and to hold of me and my heirs to himself and his heirs in fee and hereditary right, freely and quietly, with common pasture and all easements belonging to the aforesaid land, as contained in the charter which I hold of Gilbert de Halshale, Paying thence yearly Six Pence at the feast of St. Bartholomew for all services, demands, and exactions. And I Robert and my heirs, to the aforesaid Roger and his heirs the above-mentioned land against all men will for ever warrant. And that this my gift and grant may remain firm, stable, and unshaken, I have affixed my Seal to this present writing. Before these witnesses: Sir Robert de Lathom, Simon de Halshale, Walter de Scares-

* Liche, a small natural rivulet, usually dry in summer.

W(o)lfhal, Joh'e de Sutton, et multis alijs.

breck, William de Waleton, Richard, rector of the Church of Hut'n, Adam de Knowsley, Richard de Hale, Warin de Waleton, John de Wolfhal, John de Sutton, and many others.

This grant, 7½in. by 5in. is partly injured by damp, and the seal is gone, but the handwriting is extremely formal and regular, the lines being still visible. Judging from the names of the witnesses, it was probably written and executed at Warrington on one of the Court Days of the Manor. It is without date, but an approximate one may be gathered from the witnesses. Sir Rob. de Lathom was sheriff 1235 and 1249.

### 5.—SYM. DE HALSALE, TO RIC. DE SCARESBREK.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Symon de Halsale concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Ricardo de Scarisbrek et heredibus suis pro homagio et seruicio suo in feodo et hereditate, totam terram illam quam Henr. de Halsal Gilb'to fratri suo de Scarisbrek quieta clamavit, scilicet trulbuwra, thornaheued, et schirwalacres, infra has divisas, videlicet, ascendendo de Senekar usque ad Gorsiche et ab inde transversendo usque ad Rodelache inter Wulfauhe et Schirwalacres et ab inde redeundo usque ad Snapeheued versus occidentem et ab inde usque Snapebrok, cum communi pastura dicte ville de Halsale, in bosco, in aquis (et) in plano, pro duobus solidis argenti, quos prefatus Ric. de Scarisbrek et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis annuatim persolvent, scilicet, duodecim denarios in nativitate sancti Johannis Bap't et duodecim

Be it known to those present and to come, that I, Symon de Halsale, have granted and, by this my present charter, have confirmed to Richard de Scarisbreck and his heirs, for his homage and service in hereditary fee, all that land which Henry de Halsale quitclaimed to Gilbert de Scarisbreck his brother, viz., trulbura, thornyheued and schirewalacres within these bounds, viz., ascending from Senekar as far as Gorsich and from thence to Rodelache, traversing between Wolfhaugh and Schirewalacres, and from thence descending to Snapehead towards the west, and from thence to Snapebrook, with common pasture of the said village of Halsale, in woods, and waters, and plains for Two Shillings in silver, which the said Richard de Scarisbreck and his heirs shall annually pay to me and my heirs, viz., twelve pence on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist

denarios in natali Domini, pro omni servicio et demanda: et quum volo ut hec mea quieta confirmatio perpetuum robur obtineat presentem cartam sigillo meo munivi. Hijs testib: D'no Will'o Blundel,* Henr. de Walton,† Ad. de Molineus,‡ Roberto fratri ejus, Ric'o Walensi, et Rob'to§ fratri ejus, Rob. de Hurleton,‖ Ad. de Hakyneued, Alano de Moelys, Willo de Linache,¶ Ad. capell. de Melis et multis.

and twelve pence on the birth of our Lord, for all services and demands. And because I wish that this my grant and confirmation may remain durable for ever, I have fortified this present charter with my seal, before these witnesses:— Sir William Blundel, Henry de Walton, Adam de Molineus, Robert his brother, Richard Walens, and Robert his brother, Robert de Hurlton, Adam de Hakynhead, Alan de Meolis, William de Linacre, Adam the Chaplain of Melis, and many others.

11in. by 2½in. Contemporary copy only; no indentation or seal; poorly written and faded; no date.

### 6.—BENED. FIL. SIM., TO RIC. BLUNDEL.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenit Benedictus filius Symonis, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse, remisisse, et quietu-clamasse Ric'o Blundel et heredibus suis, de me et heredibus meis totam jus et clamium quod habui vel habere potui in omnibus terris quas idem Ric. tenet vel warantizare debet in Hynis et in Barton. Ita quod ego vel heredes mei nichil juris vel clamij in predictis terris de cetero possimus exigere. Pro hac autem quietu-clamatione predictus Ric. dedit mihi per cartam suam unam

To all to whom this present writing may come, Benedict son of Symon, greeting. Be it known to all that I have granted, remised, and quit-claimed to Richard Blundel and his heirs from myself and my heirs all right and claim which I had or could have in all the lands which the said Richard held or ought to warrant in Ince and in Barton: so that neither I nor my heirs shall from henceforth be able to exact any right or claim in the aforesaid lands. And for this Quit-claim the said Richard has given to me by

* *Vide* Gibson's *Lydiate*, p. 88.

† Henr. de Waleton had a grant of Waleton, Formby, and Hale, 1226/7. Charter Rolls in Gregson, p. 59.

‡ Adam and Robert de Molineux appear as witnesses to a Convention dated 1240. *Vide* Coucher Book, p. 502.

§ Rob. Walens was Sheriff 1205 and 1207.

‖ Rog. de Hurlton in 1261 made a solemn oath not to sell any lands without the advice of Walt. de Scarisbrek.

¶ Lidiate, in another copy, in the Scarisbrick charters.

bovatam terre cum pertinentijs in Hynes. Et ut ista quietuclamatio rata' et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testib3. *Ad. de Molynewes, Joh'e de Lee, Symo'e de Halsal, Alano le Noreys, Ad. de Aynolnesdal, Rob. de Molynewes, Henr. de Eyntre, Will'o de Molynewes, et alijs.

his Charter one bovate of land with appurtenances in Ince. And that this quit-claim may remain firm and stable for ever I have affixed my Seal to this writing before these Witnesses: Adam de Molyneus, John de Lee, Symon de Halsale, Alan le Noreys, Adam de Aynolnesdale, Robert de Molyneux, Henry de Ayntree, William de Molyneus, and others.

9in. by 3in. Seal gone, but writing of the time of Henry III, with peculiar thick strokes.

7.—RIC. BLUNDEL, TO BENED$^{T}$ FIL. SIMON.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Ric. Blundel dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta, mea confirmavi Benedicto filio Simonis unam Bovatam terre cum pertinentijs in Hynis, pro homagio et servicio suo, illam scilicet quam Ric. le kleynge quondam tenuit. Tenend. et habend. illi et heredibus suis, de me et heredibus meis, in feodo et hereditate, libere, quiete, integre, pacifice, et honorifice, cum omnibus libertatibus et aysiamentis predicte ville de Hynis pertinentibus. Reddend. inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis, duodecim denarios argenti, scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis sex denarios, et ad pascha sex denarios, pro omni servicio exactione et demanda et secta curie de Werynton et pro pulsando frumentum et pro omni-

Be it known to all present and to come that I, Richard Blundel have given, granted, and by this my present Charter have confirmed to Benedict son of Simon one bovate of land with appurtenances in Ince for his homage and service, viz., that which Richard le Kleynge once held: To have and to hold to him and his heirs of me and my heirs in hereditary feud, freely, quietly, entirely, peacefully, and honourably, with all liberties and easements belonging to the aforesaid village of Ince: Paying thence annually himself and his heirs to me and my heirs twelve pence in silver, that is, at the feast of St. Michael sixpence, and at Easter sixpence for every service, exaction, and demand, and for suits in the court at Warrington and for thrashing

* Ad. de Molyneaux was one of the knights who perambulated the forests, 1228. *Vide* Coucher Book, p. 370.

bus rebus, salvo forinceco servicio, et ad decessum heredis omnis firma duplicabitur pro Relevis. Et ego vero Ric. Blundel et heredes mei dictam Bovatam terre cum pertinentijs predicto Benedicto et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas imperpetuum warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio rata et stabilis permaneat huic scripto Sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testib3: D'no Hnr. de Lee, D'no Rob'o Aynulphildall, Gilb'to de Halsal, Alano Norriseco, Will'mo de Molyneus, Hnr. de Heyntr, Rob'o de Molyneus, Amauric. de Thorinton, et alijs.

of corn and for all other things except foreign service; and double rent as Relief at the death of the heir. And verily I Richard Blundel and my heirs the said bovate of land with appurtenances to the aforesaid Benedict and his heirs against all men and women will warrant, acquit and defend for ever. And that this my gift and grant may remain firm and stable, to this writing I have affixed my seal: These being witnesses: Sir Henry de Lee, Sir Robert Aynulphisdale, Gilbert de Halsale, Alan Norris, William de Molyneus, Henry de Ayntree, Robert de Molyneus, Amaur. de Thornton, and others.

Seal gone. Writing even and regular, with 1½in. margin at top and bottom. Benedict son of Symon—probably de Lydiate: but *quære* Halsal.

8.—RAD. F. AD. DE BIKERSTAT, TO COCKERSAND ABBEY.

Sciant omnes tam futuri quam presentes quod ego Radulfus filius Ad'e de Bikerstat consensu et assensu Henrici fili He(r)ve (?) dedi et concessi et presenti carta confirmavi Deo et beate Marie de Chok'sond et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus, duas acras terre mee in Bikerstat propinquiores tribus acris et dimidia, quas prius dederam eis in elemosinam, in parte australi, in puram et perpetuum elemosinam, libere et quiete, ab omni exactione seculari et servicio, cum com(m)unione et eisiamentis feudi mei prenominate ville. Hanc autem donationem

Be it known to all who are to come as well as to those present that I, Radulphus son of Adam de Bikerstat, with the consent and assent of Henry son of Herve have given and granted and by this present Charter have confirmed to God and the blessed Mary of Chok'sond (Cockersand) and to the brethren there serving God, two acres of my land in Bikerstat near to the three acres and a half which I have before given to them in alms, on the south side, in pure and perpetual alms, freely and exempt from every secular exaction and service, with

ego et heredes mei contra omnes homines et omnias calumpnias warantizabimus imperpetuum, pro salute anime mee et sponse mee et patris et matris mee et antecessorum meorum et successorum. Hijs testib3. Rog'o de Læicest'e, Ric. Walense, Rob. de Hurltun, Gilb'to de Scaresbrec, et multis alijs.

common-right and easements of my fee in the afore-named village. Moreover I and my heirs will warrant this grant against all men and all claims for ever, for the health of my soul, of my father and mother, and of my ancestors and successors. Before these witnesses: Rog'o de Leicest'e, Ric. Walense, Rob. de Hurltun, Gilb'to de Scaresbrec, et multis alijs.

7in. by 3½in. Fine deed, splendidly written, with the tall letters used temp. King John. Seal of white wax, damaged, with this inscription—SIGIL. RADVLFI FILIE AD. No date, but see 36th Report of Record Office, Appendix I, pp. 198, 199, for the names of the witnesses. Roger de Leicester was witness to a charter of Theobald Walter, otherwise called Herveus Walter, Sheriff of Lancashire, 1195—1200. The latter died ante 1205, which brings the approximate date of this deed within the reign of King John.

9.—COCKERSAND ABBEY, TO ROB. DE LOSTOCK.

Sciant omnes tam futuri quam presentes quod ego frater T. minister humilis fratrum ecclesie sancte Marie de Chok'sand et humilis ejusdem loci conventus dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta confirmavimus Roberto de Lostoc et heredibus suis quandam portionem terre nostre en Lostoc scilicet omnia edificia ipsius Roberti de Lostoc sequendo divisam in parte aquilonis inter sartum prefati Roberti clerici et sartum Roberti fratris Hawe, sicuti signa et cruces nostre demonstrant, usque in laka et sequendo laka usque ad hayam et tunc sequendo hayam usque in nigram

Be it known to all who are to come as well as those present, that I, brother T. the humble minister of the brethren of the church of Saint Mary of Cockersand and the lowly convent of the same place have given and granted and by this present charter have confirmed to Robert de Lostok and his heirs a certain portion of our land in Lostok, to wit, all the buildings of the said Robert de Lostok, following the boundary in the north between the edifice of the said Robert the cleric, and the portion of Robert brother of Hawe, just as the signals and our crosses show, as far as the

lakam et sequendo nigram lacam usque in aliam sicam, et sequendo illam sicam usque in rivulum magnum et sequendo rivulum usque ad siccam que descendit per domum Roberti Gille et sequendo sicam usque circa prenominata edificia; Sibi et heredibus suis tenendum de nobis successoribus nostris, in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete, honorifice et integre, cum communione et omnibus easiamentis et libertatibus qui continent in carta hujus elemosine donatoris: Solvendo annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris duodecim denarios easterlingorum pro omni servicio et consuetudine et omnibus rebus, sex denarios ad Pascha et sex ad festum sancti Michaeli. Si autem aliqua terra in eadem villa perquirere (p'q'rere) possit in posterum, sub eadem firma tenebit Cum autem insata decesserit, dimidiam marcam nobis persolvet. Hijs testib3: Rob'to de buru (Bury) et E. fratre suo, *Henrico de Chetham et fratribus suis, Vlf et Valt'o fratre suo et multis alijs.

lake, and following the lake as far as the hey and thence following the hey unto the black lake and from the black lake to another sike and from that sike to the great river and from the river to the sike which falls past the house of Robert Gille and following the sike as far as the before-named edifice: To hold to him and his heirs from us and our successors in hereditary fee, freely and quietly, honourably and entirely, with common right and all the easements and liberties which are contained in the charter of the donor of this alms: Paying annually to us and our successors twelve pence sterling for all service, custom and everything, six pence at Easter and six at the feast of St. Michael. And if any other land in this village be acquired in future, it shall be held under the same tenure but if any [land] fall out of cultivation he shall pay to us half a mark. Witnesses: Robert de Burie [Bury or Burun] and E. his brother, Henry de Chetham and his brothers, Vlf and Walter his brother, and many others.

1oin. by 6in. Conventual seal (broken), attached by plaited gold thread. A hand holding a pastoral crook. Inscription—SIGILL. . . . . VENT. . . SCO. Style of writing temp. Ric. I, with elongated letters. Ulf had 9 carucates of land in Melling, Hornby, and Wennington—*Domesday*, in Gregson, p. 56. The last clause is a curious and early instance of a kind of fine for neglect. Also without date.

* Henr. de Chetham: *vide* Coucher Book, p. 905.

10.—JOHN DE KENYON, TO JOHANNA WIDOW OF WILL. BLUNDEL (1367). MANOR OF INCE.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Joh'nes de Kenyon, capellanus, dedi et concessi Joh(an)ne que fuit uxor Will'o Blundel Manerium meum de Ines Blundel cum pertinentijs, ut in dominijs, dominicis, Wardis, relevis, et exchaetis, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis, mussis, turbarijs, et pasturis, aquis, molendinis, et piscarijs, cum homagiis et servicijs omnium liberum tenentum et aliorum et heredibus suorum infra predictum Manerium existentum, simul cum reversione omnium terrarum et tenementum que sunt in manibus tenentum, ad terminum vite, in eodem Manerio. Ita tamen quod vastum non faciat de domibus seu gardinis infra citum dicti Manerium, nec in pomeriis neque in le holt juxta idem Manerium, capiendo tamen maher in predicto holt ad domos ejusdem Manerium faciendum et repandum circa manerium gardinis et le holt supradictos cum necesse fuit predicte Johanne ad totam vitam suam: concessi etiam eidem Johanne quod licite possit turbas fodere per voluntate sua pro focali suo et turbas vendere dare et assignari cuicumque voluerit durante vita ipsius Johanne in omnibus mussis predicti manerij de Ines. Et etiam ad turbas fodiendum in easdem mussis pro omnibus tenentibus suis in villa supradicta. Et volo & concedo pro me et heredis

Be it known to all present and future that I, John de Kenyon, chaplain, have given, and granted to Johanna who was the wife of William Blundel, the Manor of Ince Blundell with appurtenances, as in lordships, demesnes, wards, reliefs, and escheats, meadows, feedings and pastures, mosses, turbary and pasture, waters, mills, and fisheries, with homage and service of all the free tenants and others and their heirs within the said manor existing, likewise with the reversions of of all lands and tenements which are in the hands of the tenants for the term of their lives in the said manor, provided, however, that she make no waste of the houses or gardens within the compass of the said manor, nor in the orchard, or the holt next the said manor, taking, however, loppings of timber in the said holt for the making and repairs of the houses and the fences about the manor, gardens, and the said holt, as may be necessary to the said Johanna for all her life. Also I have granted to the said Johanna that she be allowed to dig turf at her will for her own fires, and may sell or assign turbary to whomsoever she pleases during her life in all the mosses of the said manor of Ince. And also to dig turf in the same mosses for all her tenants in the said village.

meis quod predictum Manerium de Ines cum pertinentijs in omnibus ut predictum est quod post decessum prefatem Johannem que fuit uxor predicti Will'o Blundel ad me vel heres meos reverti deberet integre remanent post decessum ipse Johanne Henrico fratri et heredi ejusdem Will'i quondam viri sui Katherine filie Will'i filius Ad'e de Lyverpull et heredis inter eosdem Henricus et Kat(her)ina legitime procreatis: Habend. et tenend. de capitalis dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et consueta, libere, quiete, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis predicto manerio quoquomodo pertinentibus. Et si contingat predictos Henricum et Katherina obire sine heredibus inter eos procreatis, tunc volo quod predictum manerium cum pertinentijs integre remaneat eidem Henrico heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum. Habend. et tenend. de capitalis dominis supradictis per servicia inde debita imperpetuum. Et ego vero predictus Johannes de Kenyon capellanus predictum manerium cum pertinentijs prefate Johanne que fuit uxor Willi. Blundel ad totam vitam suam, et etiam predicto Henrico et Katherine filia predicti Willi. filius Ad'e de Liverpul et heredibus inter ipsos Henricum et Katherinam procreatis in omnibus ut predictum est, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti Carte indentate sigil-

And I will and grant for myself and my heirs that the said Manor of Ince with appurtenances in all things as aforesaid after the decease of the said Johanna who was the wife of the said William Blundel, which ought to revert to me and my heirs, shall, after the decease of the said Johanna, remain entirely unto Henry, brother and heir of the said William once her husband, and Katherine daughter of William son of Adam de Liverpool and their lawful heirs: To have and to hold of the chief lord of the fee by the service thence due and accustomed, freely, quietly, and in peace, with all liberties and easements to the said manor in any way belonging. And if it should happen that the said Henry and Katherine should die without children, then I will that the said manor with appurtenances shall entirely remain to the said Henry, his heirs and assigns for ever. To have and to hold of the chief lord by the service thence due for ever. And verily I, the said John de Kenyon, chaplain, the said manor with appurtenances to the said Johanna who was the wife of William Blundel for all her life and also to the said Henry and Catherine daughter of the said William son of Adam de Liverpool and to the children of Henry and Katherine in all things as aforesaid against all men will warrant and defend. In testimony whereof to this present indented Charter I have affixed

lum meum apposui. Hijs testibus: Oteo* de Halsale, Joh'ne† de Haydok, Joh'ne de Eccliston, Joh'ne Blundel de Crosseby, Rob'to de Lydeyate, et alijs. Dat. apud Ines, die Jovis proxime post festum Conversionis Sancti Pauli, anno regni regis Edwardi tertij a conquesto, quadrigesimo.

my seal before these witnesses: Otho de Halsale, John de Haydok, John de Eccleston, John Blundel de Crosseby, Robert de Lydeyate, and others.

Given at Ince on Thursday next after the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25) in the 40th year of the reign of King Edward the third from the conquest.

10in. by 5in. Indenture and counterpart with large seal, in white wax, bearing the arms of Haydok; viz., *Arg.* a cross *sa.*, on dexter chief quarter a fleur de lis of the 2nd. (*Vide* Gregson, p. 100.)

### 11.—AD. LE BARKER OF LIVERPOOL, TO ROB. DE HAYLE (1404). TWO HALF BURGAGES IN MORE STREET.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Adam le Barker de Lyu'pull dedi concessi et hac presenti Carta mea confirmaui Rob'to de Hayle et Sissote uxori ejus, duo dimidia burgagia in villa de Lyu'pull cum edificijs suis superstantibus et suis pertinentijs, jacent in le More strete, quorum unum jacet inter terram Tho'e del More ex utraque parte, et alterum inter terram ejusdem Thome ex vna parte et terram Willi Keling ex altere parte. Habend. et tenend. predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum edificijs suis superstantibus et suis pertinentijs prefato Roberto et Sissote et heredibus suis inter eosdem legitime procreatis, libere, quiete, bene et in pace,

Be it known to those present and those to come that I, Adam le Barker of Liverpool have given, granted, and by this my present Charter have confirmed to Robert de Hayle and Sissote [Cecilia ?] his wife two half burgages in the town of Liverpool with the buildings standing thereon and with the appurtenances lying in the More street, one of which lies between lands of Thomas del More on each side, and the other between lands of the said Thomas on one part and lands of William Beling on the other. To have and to hold the aforesaid two half burgages with the buildings thereon and the appurtenances to the aforesaid Robert and

* Otho, summoned to Parliament, 1351.

† John Blundel de Crosby is a witness in 1351, also in 1376.

de capitalis dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta in perpetuum. Et si contingat predictum Rob. et Sissot. obire sine heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreatis volo et concedo quod predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum omnibus suis pertinentijs integre remaneant Alicie filie Ad'i del Ryding: Habend. et tenend. predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum edificijs suis superstantibus et suis pertinentijs prefate Alicie et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, libere, quiete, bene et in pace, tenendo de capitalis dominis per servicia que inde debent. Et si contingat predictam Aliciam obire sine heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreatis, volo et concedo quod predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum omnibus suis pertinentijs michi Ade. le Barker integre remaneant. Habend. et tenend predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum omnibus suis pertinentijs mihi prefato Ade. le Barker et heredibus meis de corpore meo legitime procreatis. Et si contingat me predictum Ad. le Barker obire sine heredibus de corpore meo legitime procreatis, volo et concedo quod predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum edificijs suis superstantibus et suis pertinentijs integre remaneant rectis heredibus Willi. Benetson et revertant in perpetuum. Et ego vero predictus Adam le Barker et heredes mei predicta duo dimidia burgagia cum edificijs suis superstantibus et suis

Sissote and their joint lawful heirs, freely, quietly, rightly and peaceably of the chief lord of that fee by the service thence due and lawfully accustomed for ever. And if it happen that the aforesaid Robert and Sissote die without lawful heirs, I will and grant that the said two half burgages with all appurtenances shall remain entirely to Alice daughter of Adam del Ryding. To have and to hold the said two half burgages with the edifices thereon and appurtenances to the said Alice and her lawful heirs, freely, quietly, rightly and peaceably holding of the chief lord by the service thence due. And if it happen that the said Alice die without lawful heirs, I will and grant that the said two half burgages with all appurtenances shall entirely remain to me Adam le Barker. To have and to hold the aforesaid two half burgages with all appurtenances to me the said Adam le Barker and my lawful heirs. And if it happen that I the said Adam le Barker die without lawful issue, I will and direct that the aforesaid two half burgages with the edifices thereupon and the appurtenances entirely remain to the right heirs of William Benetson for ever. And truly I the aforesaid Adam le Barker and my heirs the said two half burgages with the edifices thereon and their appurtenances to the said Robert and Sissote his wife and their lawful heirs, and to the said Alice

pertinentijs prefato Rob. et Sissote uxori ejus et heredibus suis inter eosdem legitime procreatis, ac eadem prefate Alicie et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis necnon mihi Ad. le Barker et heredibus de corpore meo legitime procreatis, necnon rectis heredibus Willi. Benetson ut predictum est, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testibus: Tho. del More, t(u)nc maiore villa de Lyv'pull, Joh'e Cole, Rico Sgwyne [Gwynne] t(u)nc ballivus ejusdem ville, Joh'e de Sallay, Joh'e le Smythe et alijs. Dat. apud Lyv'pull in festo St. Mich'is Archangli anno r. r. Henrici quarti, quinto.

and her lawful heirs, also to me Adam le Barker and my lawful heirs, and to the right heirs of William Benetson as aforesaid, against all men will warrant and defend for ever. In testimony whereof to this my present Charter I have affixed my seal, before these witnesses: Tho. de More, then Mayor of the town of Lyv'pull, John Cole, Richard Gwyne, then bailiff of the said town, John de Sallay, John le Smythe and others. Dated at Liverpool on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the 5th year of the reign of King Henry the fourth.

12in. by 5in., seal gone, stained.

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## COMMUNICATION RESPECTING VOLUME XXX.

The following *Errata* for vol. xxx have been kindly forwarded by Miss ffarington, of Worden Hall, Preston:—

Second Note on page 23: ,

*For* Marples Hall, *read* Sharples Hall.

Page 149, "He was the friend and counsellor of the Countess of Derby," &c. This is quite an erroneous conclusion: that gentleman died in 1658; his son William died in 1672, aged 70, and *he* had no son named William. The pedigree throws no light as to who was the William Farrington mentioned on p. 149.—*Miss ffarington, in letter to C. T. Gatty.*

# INDEX.


Abbey, Saint Dominick's, 40
Accounts of the Historic Society, 1878-9, 173
Address, President's, 163, 164
Adelfius, 111
Adnulf, 112
Æthelberht, king, 91. 114
Æthelfrith, 108, 112
Æthelheard, archbishop, 96
Agecroft, 81
Ainsworth, 87
Akerman Mr., 95, 96
Aldingham church, 152
——— lords of, 153
*Alio* or *Alionis*, 67
Allithwaite, 148, 153 ; Upper, 75
Alning, 112
Alric, 113
Altar, Roman, at Wigan, 72
Ambrosius, 97
Ancient charters, Ince-Blundell collection, 179-198
*Angle*, initial of, 103
Angles, 92
Aniwulucu, 97, 98
Annemund, 112
Antiquities, Roman, at Overburrow, 68, 69, 70-72
Appeal, law of, 26-30
Ardennes, forest of, 108
Arkholme, 80
Arles, Synod of, 111
Armorial painting, an old, 177, 178
Arms, law of, 24, 25
"Arvell," 125, *n.* 125, 128
Ashford, Mary, 30
——— William, 30
Assizes, customs at, 4, 5, 6
Astley Duckenfield, 2
"Atterpile Castle," 75
Augustine, 92, *n.* 97, 98, 112-116
Austin Friars, 24
Axon, W. E. A., 170

Badge, Pilgrim's, 166
"Badger," 120, *n.* 120
"Badges, French, of 1790, 166
Bailey, F. J., 170-172
——— J. E., 170, 171
Baldwin Rev. G., 87
Bambridge and Corbett, case of, 29
Bambrough, 58
Bank Hall, 182
Barcroft, 84
Bardney, 58, 61
"Barred out," 133, *n.* 133
Battel, trial by, 17-21
"Batting," 131, *n.* 131
"Battock," 131, *n.* 131
Beamont, William, 1, 170
Bellas Keep, 80
Bendall H., 170
Bernicia, 59
Berhtnulf, 113
Berhtwold, 113
Bertha, queen, 91-92 94, 104
Besançon, 112
Beswicke Robert, of Pike House, 76
Bewsey tragedy, 26
Bill for four Spanish dollars, 1776, 170
Birinus, 115, 116
Birkenhead, Roger, prior of, 25
Bishops present at Clofeston Synod, 112
"Black Jack," 121, *n.* 121
Blackburn, 81, 136
Blackrod, 77
Blundell, Colonel H. B. H., 181
Blundell, family of, 179-182
Blundell, T. Weld, 179. 181
Boleyn, Sir William, 160
Bollington, 36, 37
Bolton, 87-89
Book of the Hours, 14th century, 158, 159
——— 15th century, 157
Book, old, containing proverbs of Solomon in Hebrew, Irish, and English, 165
Borrowbridge, 67
Boteler, Lady, 26
——— Sir John, 25
*Botontini*, 80
"Botten" farm house, 72
Bowness church, 152
Bowland, forest of, 117
Branding, punishment of, 14
Brank, or scold's bridle, 30, 31
Brandsburtone, 84
Brass, inscribed portion of, 166
"Breck," the, near Skippool, 75
Breightnet, 89
*Bremetonacæ*, 67, 68, 71, 72
Bromborough. Sir William, 25
Bromley, James, 117, 172
"Brother Miller," 121, *n.* 121
Broughton-in-Furness, 88
Brown, Alderman, 86
Brun, or Burn, river, 78
"Budget," 122, *n.* 122
*Bulla*, golden, found in the Irwell, 69
*Bullæ*, 89
Burbacke, John, 29
Burnel, 24
Burnley, 72, 73, 78, 83, 84
Burton, Mr. Justice, 4

Bury, 87, 136
Butterworth, 76

Cade, Jack, 15, 18
Cadruelis, 105-107
Cadwalader, 108-110
Cadwalla, 58-60, 106
Cadwallan or Cadvallyn, 106-111, 116
Caen, 95
Calder river, 71-78
*Calna*, 71
Calunio, 71
Cambrai, Diocese of, 104
*Cambodunum*. 70
Cancefields, heiress of, 153
Canterbury, 91-116
"Capping," 131, *n*. 131
Carnforth, 127
Cartier, M., 95
Cartmel, 75, 84, 147-154
Caskets, mediæval, 166
Cass, Rev. F. C., 159, 160
Casterclift, 70, 84
"Castle Croft," 77
Castle Hill, 80
Castle Mere, 85
Castlehead, 75
*Castra*, 67, 68, 80
Catgobail, 108
Catgualart, 108, *n*. 108, 109
*Cato Censorius, Christianus*, 170
Catscaul, *n*. 58, 60
"Causeway," 119, *n*. 119
Cavendish, Lord George, 85
Ceadwealh, king, 109, 110
Ceolnoth, 113
Cernel, 98, *n*. 98
Chatburn, 84
Charteris, Colonel, 134
Chaucer, 23
Checkley, pyramidal stones at, 63
Chelsea, old forms of the name, 65
Cheshire, ancient customs of, 166
Chester, 2
Chipping, 118, 119, 124, 137-140
Chorley, 86, 87
Chorlton Fold, 77
Christ Church, 112
Clayton, family of, iii, 35-52, 171
"Clarked," 122, *n*. 122
"Clerked," 131, *n*. 131
Clergy, benefit of, 12, 13, 16
"Clock overside," 130, *n*. 130
Clofeston, Synod of, 112
Clichy, Synod of, 115
Clitheroe, 77, *n*. 81, 84, 137
Cliviger, township of, 83
Cocboy, 59, 60
Coccium, 71, 72
Cockersand Abbey, 181, 191, 192
"Cockey Moor," 87
Coin, found at Eastbach, Turville, 97
Coins, exhibited by J. O'Byrne, 164, 165
——————— J. H. Gibson, 168
——— forming a necklace, found at S. Martin's, Canterbury, 91-116, 165
——— in Leyden Museum, 97, *n*. 97
——— in British Museum, 97
——— Merovingian, 100
——— Roman, 83, 88
Coldingham, John, 22
Colne, 70, 71, 73, 84
Communications to the Historic Society, 177-195.
Constantius, 110, 111, 116
*Contemplatio mortis et Fors mortalitatis*, 170
Cornelio, 97, 98
Councils and Synod, 54, 64-66
"Count these," 11
"Coupe," 120, *n*. 120
Court, M. A., of Lowgill, 89
Cowper, William, Lord Chancellor, 29
Cowper, Spencer, 29
Craven, appellation of, 29
Crondale treasure, 102
Crosby, 179, 196
Crown piece, *temp*. Cromwell, 171
Cuckhamsley Barrow, 80
Culcheth, 53, 54, 62-66, 171
Culprit, derivation of the word, 8
Cunningham, Rev. James, 118
Cuthberht, 112
Cylinder, ancient Egyptian, 157-158

"Daddling strings," 140, *n*. 140
Dagobert I, 105-108
Dalfinus, 111
Dallas, Mr. Justice, 4
Dalton-in-Furness, 79, 88
Daniel, Bishop, 112
Darwen, 131, 136
Daub Hall, 124
Deed of exchange, 1250, 171
Deeds, Mr. Clayton's, 49-52
Deira, 59
Denniesburn, *n*. 58, 60
Dentdale, 68
Derby, Countess of, 5
Devonshire, Duke of, 85
"Discharged the house," 122, *n*. 122
Dish, bronze, 172
——— from oak of York Minster, 172
Dobson, William, 117
Dock medal of Liverpool police, 145
——— Roman, 79
Doe, John and Richard Roe, 32
Dollar of the Republic of Uruguay, 170
Doneraile, 41
*Dorobernia*, 96
*Doroernia*, 95
*Dorovernis*, 95, 96
Dorovernis, triens of, 100, 103
"Dressing," 131, *n*. 131
"Dressing the mull," 131, *n*. 131
Duke Humphrey, 129
Dummuc, diocese of, 112
Dutton, family of, 35, 36
Dyer Wood, 84

Eadward the Confessor, 95
Eadwine, 106, 107
Eanfrith, 112
Earconberht, king, 96
Earcongota, St., 96
Earthworks, British, 9, 71
Eawa, 57-60
Edward III, quarter noble of, 145
Edwin, 58, 59
Egelaf, 112
Eliguis, 116
Elliscales, 88
Emmott, 84, 89
Enfield, 121
Eormanric, *n*. 93
Epitaph, Latin, at Stockport, 136
Errata for vol. xxx, 198
"Erring," 135, *n*. 135
Essex, Earl of, 7

Eusebius, moneyer, 95, 97
Ewer, notes on family of, 159-161
Extwistle Hall, 72

Febrifuge, flowers as a, 4
Felix St., 115, 116
Felogild, 113
Fenny, 86
Fenton, J., 87
Feversham, brooch found at, 94
ffarington, Miss, 86, 87, 88, *n.* 90, 198
Fitz John. William, 17-20
Fitz Thomas, William, 18-20
Fleetwood, 86
——— Sir Hesketh, 86
Flookburgh, 148
"Foddering," 131, *n.* 131
Footmen, running, 3, 4
Forrest, J. A., 166
Franks, 92
Franks, A. W., *n.* 90
Friesland, 93
Frignuhald, 113
Furness, 79

*Galacum* or *Galatum*, 67
Gaol fever, 5
"Garden of the Soul," 1514, 157
Garsdale, 118
Garstang, 75
Gazan, General, 93
Gatty, Charles T., *n.* 90, 157, 166, 167, 169, 172, 177, 198
George, bishop of Ostia, 64
Gerard, Sir Thomas, 25
Gibson, J. Harris, 143, 164-166, 168, 170, 177
——— Rev. T. E., 179
"Give day," 120, *n.* 120
Godderside, 148
Godwine, bishop, 112
Gowland, Mr., of Gray's Inn, 125
Grappenhall, 39, 40
"Graving," 131, *n.* 131
Greenfield, 84
Gregory, St., 92, 114, 115, *n.* 115
Grendon, William de, 17
Grey, Lord, 26
Grosvenor, Sir Robert, 23, 25
Guidgar or Guido, 107, *n.* 107
Guthrie, Mrs., of Twiston Manor House, 77
Gwynedd, king of, 106, 108, 110

Haigh, Rev. D. H., 91, 165
"Haimes," 138, *n.* 138
Halsall, 181, 183, 186-188, 191, 196
Halton, 80, 81
Halywell, John, 29
Hama, *n.* 93
Hance, E. W. M., 172
Hand, prisoner holding up his, 6, 7, 14
Hanson, Colonel, 2
Hardwick, Charles, 78
Hargrave Rev. Mr., 84
Harlingen, 93, *n.* 93
Harington monument in Cartmel church, 147-154, 172
Harringtons of Hornby, 153
Hartley, Mr., of Hartford, 125
"Hassocks," 131, *n.* 131
Hatchet, stone, from Jamaica, 170
Haven of the Setantii, 74
Heapy, 87
Heavenfield, battle of, 108
Heil or Helith, 98, *n.* 98
Helmham, diocese, 112

Henry III, penny of, 143
Hereford, diocese of, 112
Herelingas, *n.* 93
Herleton, chapel of, 17, 20
Herunald, 112
Hesketh Lane, 118, 124, 125
Heywood, 87
Higebryht (or Higbert), archbishop, 64
High Sheriff's entrance into Chester, 1807, 2-4
Hodder, 119
Holcombe, 136
Hollinshead-Blundell, family of, 181
Holt, Lord, 15
Holt, Mr., 128
Honorius, 93, 110, 111, 115
Hooley Wood, 87
"Hopper," 138, *n.* 138
Horace, edition of, printed by Didot, 170
Hornbook, Doctor, 135
Hornby, 80
——— Castle, 82, 134
"Hough," 133, *n.* 133, 139, *n.* 139
Huetlac, 112
Hunfrid, 112, 114, 116
Hunwald, 112
Hume, Rev. A., 156, 169, 172
Hurleton Hall, 181
Huyton, 86
Hymn, Latin, from MS. at Salzburg, 161, 162

Ilkley, 76
Ince, 180-183, 189, 190, 194-196
Ingwald, 112
Implements, stone age, 169
Ixworth Down, beads found on, 99

"Jack," 140, *n.* 140
Jacob, John G., 165, 173
Jacobite intrigues, 122, 134
Jaenbryht (or Jambert), archbishop, 64
Jolly, Rev. Mr., 129
Jones, J. M., 166
"Judgment of God," 9
Judicael, king, 106
Judruis, 108, 110, 116
Jug of old Liverpool manufacture, 156
Justinian, coin of, 92, 93
Justinus I, 100
Justus, 114, 116
Jutes, 92

Keer, river, 79
Kersall Moor, 81
King John, 147
Kirkby-Lonsdale, 67
Kirkham, 74, 75, 89, *n.* 90
Knights Hospitallers, 180, 183, 184
Knutsford, 12, 25

Lac, river, 67, 68
Lancaster, 67, 82, 121, 123, 127
Lanfranc, 112
"Lashing," 131, *n.* 131
"Laund," 123, *n.* 123
Laurence, 114
Laws of the Historic Society, 172
"Leading," 121, *n.* 121
Leathwaite, 119
Le Castell, 82
Lee, William, 29
Lefroy, M., 102
Leicester, diocese, 112
Lenton, prior of, 20, 28
——— Our Lady at, 17

Leobardus, 115
Leyland, 87, 89
*Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, 97
Library, donations to, 175, 176
Lichfield, diocese, 64, 112
Lincoln, 115
Lindisfarne, 58
*Liphardus* or *Liffard*, 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 115, 116
Little Bolton, 81
Little Bowland, 81
Littleborough, 76, 89
Liudhard, bishop, 91, 92, 24, 95, 104, 112, 114
Liverpool, 182, 195, 196, 198
" Liverpool Blues," 146
Llangadwalader, 106
" Lodging room," 124, *n.* 124
London, 111, 112, 114
Lone, river, 67, 68
Longpérier, M. de, 95
Longridge, 119, 124
Longton Moss, 85
" Low House Wood," 84
Lune, river, 82
Lune's Bridge, 80, 81
Lunesdale, 68
Lydiate, 179, 181, 183, 184, 191, 196

*Mancunium*, 71, 72
Mancuses, 97
Manchester, 67, 69, 71, 76, 77, 81, 87-89 117, 118
" Manchets and levens," 130, *n.* 130
Marcel, or Marcelfeld, 55, 56
Maserfelth or Masefeld, 54-56, 59, 60, 65
Maserfield, battle of, 54-56, 59, 60, 61-65
Masey of Puddington, 26
——— Tatton, 25
Massey, John de, 25
Matfen, 75
Mathison, William, 157
Maundeville, Sir Richard, 21
Mayer collection, notes on, 167
——— Joseph, 91
——— Museum, 92. 93, 158, 166
Medals for saving life, 166, 167
Melling, 80
Mellitus, 111, 114
Mellor, 81
Members, new, of Historic Society, 174
Mercia, 54, 57-60, 63, 66
Mereclough, 83
" Mill Field," at Kirkham, 74
" Minding his goods," 131, *n.* 131
Minor Roman Stations in Lancashire, 67-90, 169
Minstrel, Blundell, 180
Moneyers, Merovingian, 100
More, Sir Thomas, 8
——— street, 182, 196
——— of More Hall, 182
Morecambe Bay, 74
Moreton, Earl of, 147
Morley, Robert de, 24
Morton, T. N., 170, 179
Moyallow, 41-43
Multon of Egremond, 153
Murray, Edgar, 156
Museum, Liverpool, 91-98
——— South Kensington, 94
——— Warrington 30, 37, 38
Myerscough Park 82

Necklace of coins, found in S. Martin's Church Yard, Canterbury, 91-116
Newton, 125
" Nombles," 120, *n.* 120
Notes, Historical and Antiquarian, relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, 143-146, 165
Northumbria, 54, 57-61, 63-66
Numismatic Society, 98

Obsolete Peculiarities of English Law, 170
O'Byrne, J., 164
" O Yes," 5, 7
Offa, 64
Onastantius, 105, 110
Ordeal, trial by, 9
Ormerod, 84
——— Peter, 84
Oshere, 113
Osric, 113
Oswald, 54-62
Oswald's Cross, 61
Osway or Oswy, 58, 59
Oswestry, 54, 60-62, 66
Oswin, 59, 108, *n.* 108
Outworks, Roman, 70-72
Overburrow or Overborough, 67, 68-70, *n.* 81, 85, 89
Owen Glendower, 23
Oyez, 7

" Pack-saddle," 138, *n.* 138
Park Farm, 79
Parker, John, 133
——— Robert, 133
" Parl," 123, *n.* 123
Parsonage of Wigan in 1639, 171
Paulinus, 115, *n.* 115
——— Cross, 62
Pelagius, 97
Pembroke, William Mareschal, Earl of, 147
Penda, 57-62
Pendle Hill, 81
Personal names on coins, 102
Peter de Cestria, 82
Pillion, 123, *n.* 123
Pipe, bronze opium, 166
Piper choir in Cartmel church, 148, 149
" Plowed mean," 121, *n.* 121
" Plowing," 131, *n.* 131
" Plump, the," 78
Poll books, Chester, 165
Popular laws, 30, 31
Portfield, 81
*Portus Setantiorum*, 74
Post glacial formations in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, 167-169
Potter, Charles, 156, 167, 169, 172
Poulton, 75
Preston, 77, 81, 82, 86, 87, 120, 123, 127, 130, 133
——— George, of Holker, 148
Prices current in Chipping (1725-30), 137-140
Priestholm, 107
Priory, Cartmel, 147, 148
" Private days," 127, *n.* 127
" Prized, 122, *n.* 122
" Professor," 132, *n.* 132
Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, 16th century, 157
Punishment, capital, 8
——— *peine forte et dure*, 10, 11
Pusill, Cicely, 31

" Rack," 139, *n.* 139
Raddam Laund, 133
Raine. Rev. Canon, *n.* 90
" Rathes," 122, *n.* 122

Reade, T. M., 169
Records in the office of Ulster King at Arms, 45-47
Reculvers, diocese, 114
Rednulf, 112
" Reins," 131, *n.* 131
" Relyke of the Holy Cross," 148
Renacres or Ranacres, 180, 181, 183-187
Report of Proceedings, 32nd session, 1879-80, 155-176
Restitutus, 111
Rheims, Synod of, 115
Ribble, river, 78
Ribchester, 67, 70, 71, 74, 81, *n.* 81, 82, 87-89, 133
Ribe, 85
Rigby, Alexander, 5
*Rigodunum* station, 71
" Ringstones Camp," 72, 73
Risley, 89
Rixton, Nicholas de, 25
——— William de, 25
Robinson, Josias, 84
Rochdale, 76, 85
Rochester, diocese, 112, 114, 115
Rolfe, Mr., of Sandwich, 92, 93, 98
Roman remains, miscellaneous, 88-90
——— roads, 70, 71, 76, 77, 81, 82, 85, 87-89
——— stations, 67-90, 169
——— stirrup, 171
——— villas, 82
Roper, W. O., 147
Rossall Hall, 86
——— Point, 86
Rossendale, 127
Rural Life of a Lancashire Minister 150 years ago, 117, 172
Rylands, J. Paul, 35, 171, 178
——— T. G., 53, 156, 163, 168-171

Sabrina, 108
Sæberht, 111
Saint Martin, 91
——— ——— of Tours, 101, 102
——— Martin's Church, 91, 92, 112
Sambre, 108, 110
Sanctuary, privilege of, 12, 13
Sarre, 94
Scarisbrick, 181, 185, 187, 188, 192
Scheldt, 108
" School dame," 131, *n.* 131
Scrope and Grosvenor, cause of, 22-25
——— Henry le, 18
——— Sir Richard, 23, 25
" Scot," 138, *n.* 138
Seaxnot, king, 102
" Seircloth," 135, *n.* 135
Selsey, diocese, 112
" Servitors," 128, *n.* 128
Sheepcroft, 39, 40
Sherburne, diocese, 112
*Sibbi*, king of East Saxons, 102
Sicga, 112
Sidnachester, diocese, 112
*Sigel*, initial, 102
Sighere, 103
Silbury Hill, 80
Silver arm, 76, 77, 89
Skippool, or estuary of Skippon Brook, 75
Slack, 70
Slaidburn, 125, 128, *n.* 128
Sleda, king, 103
Smith, C. Roach, 98
*Solomon's Sententiæ*, 170
South Mimms, 159-161
" Spelks," 131, *n.* 131
Spelman, Sir Henry, 8
" Spit-boots," 140, *n.* 140
" Standings," 133, *n.* 133
Standish, 83
Stanton, Thomas Fitz Hugh de, 17, 20, 21
Stations, Roman, 67-90, 169
" Steer," 138, *n.* 138
" Stirk," 138, *n.* 138
" Stirring the fallows," 129, *n.* 129
Stirrup, Roman, 171
Stockport, 136
Stoneygate Lane, 119
Stout, Sarah, 29
" Struck," 133, *n.* 133
Sureties, 32, 33
Sutton, 93
" Swinden Water," 73
" Swine-cote," 131, *n.* 131
Symonds, John de Southmymes, 160

Tarbock, 86
Tatnoth, 113
Taurinus, 115
Taylor, John, stationer, 134
*Teneis* or *Tenaeisi*, 97, 98, *n.* 98
Tertullian, works of, dated 1528, 170
" Thacking," 131, *n.* 131
" The taylor's supper," 130, *n.* 130
Thelwall, 35, 52
Theodore, 112, 113
Theodosius, 93
Thornber, Rev. W., 86
Thornley, 118, 124
Thornton, Abraham, 30
" Thrave," 138, *n.* 138
Three, a magical number, 7
Throstle Hill, 87
Toleration Act, 125
Torhthelm, 112
Town choir in Cartmel church, 149
Townley, Edward, 82
Trafford Park, 81
" Travelling Scot," 121, *n.* 121
*Treatyse of Fyshynge with an Angle*, 170
Trencher, Charles I, 145
Triple cross, ancient, 164
Troor sur la Dice, 95
Tunshill, 76

Ulverstone, 85
*Umbo*, found at Kirkham, 74, 75, 89, *n.* 90
Underwood, 85
Unita, 112
Upholland, 88
Upper Holker, 84
Urswick, 78, 79

*Vegius vicus*, 102
Vernon, Sir Nicholas le, 25
Vernoun, Thomas le, 25
Villas, Roman, 82
Volunteers, Liverpool, 146
——— Manchester, 2
Voyage, The, pamphlet, 144, 145

Walacres Mere, 180, 183, 187
Walfred, 113
Waleys, family of, 180-183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 192
Walkden, Mrs., 134, 135
——— Nathaniel, 127
——— Rev. Peter, 117-137
Walker, Rev. Robert, 119
——— T. Shadford, 157

Walmersley, 87, 89
Walmsley, Mr., 86
Walsh Hall, 180
Walton, 82
——— Hall, 84
Walton-le-Dale. 77
" Wared," 133, *n.* 133
Warrington, 25, 31, *n.* 35, 53, 89, 188, 190
———— Museum, 30, 37, 38
Warton, 79
Watkin, W. Thompson, 67
" Web," 131, *n.* 131
Weld-Blundell, T., 179, 181
" Well," 135, *n.* 135
Wenning, river, 82
Westmore, Mr., of Friargate, 86
Whalley, 81, *n.* 81, 82
Wheatley Lane, 84
Whittle, 86
Whitwell, *n* 81
Wickham, 102
Wigan, 53, 71, 72, 77, 78, 88
Wigmund, archbishop, 95
Wigs, serjeants', 7
Wilfrith, 111, 112
Wilkinson, J., 75
Wilpshire, 81
Winchester, diocese, 112
" Windle," 138, *n.* 138
" Window peeper," 132, *n.* 132
" Windrowing," 131, *n.* 131
Windy Bank, 76
Winster, river, 75
Winwæd field, 108
Winwed, 58
Winwick, 53-61, 171
" Wonderful Walker," 119
Wood Plumpton church, 86
" Woonsey stript," 140, *n.* 140
Worcester, diocese, 112
Worden, 87
Worsthorne Moor, 72
Wraysholme Tower, 153
Wyre, river, 74, 75

" Yates," 131, *n.* 131
" Yew Tree Field," in Allithwaite, 76
York, diocese, 115

Zululand, objects and implements from, 166, 169

FINIS.

T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, 58, DALE STREET, LIVERPOOL.

THE

# HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

## LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

[FOUNDED 1848.]

# LAWS.

1880.

LIVERPOOL:
PRINTED BY DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL.

LIVERPOOL:
T. BRAKELL, PRINTER,
58, DALE STREET.

# LAWS.

Name and Object

I. The Society [founded, 20th June, 1848] shall be called the HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE; and its objects shall be the collection, arrangement, preservation, and publication of information relating to the general history of the two counties. Subjects of a controversial character, in religion or politics, shall be inadmissible.

Constitution.

II. The Society shall consist of Resident, Non-Resident, Honorary, and Associate Members.

Resident and Non-Resident Members.

III. Inasmuch as the regular meetings of the Society are held in Liverpool, every Member residing within seven miles of the Liverpool Exchange shall be regarded as Resident; all others as Non-Resident.

Subscription.

IV. Resident Members shall pay to the Society One Guinea annually, due in advance on the 1st of January. Non-resident Members shall pay in like manner Half a Guinea.

Composition for Life Membership.

V. Any Member whose payments are not in arrear may become a Life Member by paying ten annual subscriptions in one sum. If, at any future time, any Non-Resident Life Member shall become a Resident Member, he shall be required to pay annually Half a Guinea in addition, or Five Guineas in one sum. All such life compositions shall be invested by the Council on behalf of the Society.

Election of New Members.

VI. Every candidate for admission as a Member of the Society, shall be recommended by at least two Members, according to a prescribed form, which shall be read at one meeting of the Society, and at the next meeting he shall be balloted for, and elected unless one-fourth of the Members present vote against him. *(For form of nomination and recommendation, see Schedule A.)*

Intimation.

VII. The Secretary shall inform every new Member of his election, and of the payments due from him to the Society; and shall also furnish him with a copy of the Laws.

Arrears.

VIII. No Member whose subscription is unpaid shall be entitled to receive the Society's publications; and any Member neglecting to pay his subscription for three consecutive years, may be amoved from the Society by the vote of the Council.

Mode of Resignation.

IX. Any Member whose payments are not in arrear may withdraw from the Society on conveying to the Secretary a written intimation to that effect on or before the first day of January in any year.

Amoval of Members.

X. If there be any alleged cause (other than the non-payment of subscription) for the amoval of any Member, the same shall be submitted to the Council, who may at their discretion bring it before the Society at a subsequent general meeting; and if on a ballot the amoval be agreed to, such Member shall thereupon cease to belong to the Society. At this meeting there shall be twenty Members at least present, and fourteen days' notice thereof shall be given to the said Member.

Honorary and Associate Members: their election and privileges.

XI. The Honorary Members shall be limited to thirty; they shall be eminent persons; and shall be elected, on the recommendation of the Council, in the same manner as Ordinary Members. They shall not be entitled to vote; but they shall receive the Society's publications free of expense. Associate Members shall be limited to ten; they shall be elected on the recommendation of the Council, as persons who have assisted, or are likely to assist the work of the Society. They shall not be entitled to vote, but shall receive the Society's publications free of expense.

Constitution of the Council.

XII. The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and fifteen Members.

Assistant Secretary.

XIII. The Council may appoint a stipendiary Assistant Secretary, who shall be subject to their directions.

Local Secretaries.

XIV. The Council may appoint Local Secretaries for such districts as they deem advisable. The duties of the Local Secretaries shall be to forward to the Society notice of matters of historical interest arising in their immediate neighbourhood.

Meetings of the Council.

XV. The Council may meet at the discretion of the President, Secretary, or on the requisition of three of its Members.

Annual Meeting of the Council.

XVI. There shall be an Annual Meeting of the Council previous to the Annual General Meeting, to prepare a Report of the Proceedings during the year, to audit the Treasurer's accounts and arrange a Balance-sheet, to prepare the Balloting-lists, and to make such other arrangements as may be necessary for the ensuing Annual General Meeting.

Bye-Laws.

XVII. The Council shall have power to make Bye-Laws, not inconsistent with the Laws of the Society.

XVIII. Five Members of the Council, not being Officers, shall retire each year by seniority of election, and shall be eligible for re-election. Members of Council to retire by rotation.

XIX. The Officers of the Society shall be elected, and vacancies on the Council shall be filled up, at the Annual General Meeting; excepting any casual vacancy occurring during the year, which shall be filled up by the Council. Election of Council and Officers.

XX. A notice shall be sent to each member seven clear days before the Annual General Meeting, which notice shall contain :— Notice concerning the election of the Council.

(1) The names of the Members of the Council retiring by rotation.

(2) The names of the Officers and Members of the Council proposed by the existing Council.

(3) The names of any other Candidates for the Council, proposed and seconded by two Members of the Society; which proposal must be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary before the first of January.

Should more Candidates than are required be proposed, a ballot shall take place.

XXI. The Annual General Meeting shall be held on the third Thursday in January of each year. At this meeting the Report of the retiring Council and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts shall be read; and the Officers and Council shall be elected. Annual General Meeting.

XXII. The Ordinary Meetings shall be held between the months of October and the following April in each year, and the dates and hours of the Meetings shall be fixed by the Council. A card, showing the Ordinary Meetings of each Session, shall be forwarded to every Member. At all Meetings, the President shall take the Chair, and in his absence a Vice-President; or, in the absence of the President and Vice-President, any member of the Society whom the meeting shall appoint. *(For order of business at Ordinary Meetings, see Schedule B.)* Ordinary Meetings.

XXIII. Members shall be allowed to introduce Visitors at the Ordinary Meetings. Visitors.

XXIV. The Hon. Secretary shall call a Special General Meeting at the requisition, in writing, of the President, any three Members of the Council, or any ten Members of the Society. Seven clear days notice shall be given of such a Meeting, which shall be held within one month after the date of the requisition, and the notice shall contain the purpose for which the Meeting is required, and no business Special General Meeting.

shall be entered upon at that Meeting, or any adjournment thereof, of which such notice has not been given.

Changes in the Laws.

XXV. Every change in the Laws of the Society shall be made at an Annual or Special General Meeting.

Re-introduction of proposals.

XXVI. No proposition which has been rejected at an Annual General or Special General Meeting shall be brought forward again in the Society during the same year.

The Annual Volume.

XXVII. The Council shall print annually a volume of Transactions, to one copy of which every Member shall be entitled whose payments are not in arrear. The Volume shall contain such Papers or abstracts of Papers as the Council shall select for publication, together with the Proceedings at the Meetings, the Report of the Council, the Treasurer's Balance-sheet, and a list of the Members.

Copies of papers to the Authors.

XXVIII. The Author of any paper which is printed, either entire or by abstract, in the Society's annual volume, shall be entitled to twenty-five copies of such paper or abstract, to be printed at the expense of the Society.

Modes of voting.

XXIX. In all elections the votes shall be taken by ballot, unless the Members present resolve, for special reason, to vote otherwise.

XXX. The Chairman of every meeting shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

The Library.

XXXI. The Library shall be at all times available for the use of Members, in accordance with the Bye-Laws. (See page 7.)

The property of the Society.

XXXII. All property of the Society shall be vested in the Council of the time being, on behalf of the subscribing Members, and every Member who shall withdraw or be amoved from the Society, or shall from any cause whatever cease to be a member thereof, shall thereupon absolutely forfeit all interest in the property of the Society.

Dissolution of the Society.

XXXIII. The dissolution of the Society may be effected at any time, by a resolution to that effect, passed by a majority of three-fourths of the Members voting at a Special General Meeting, at which not less than two-thirds of the Annual and Life Members of the Society shall be present. Upon such dissolution all the property of the Society shall, subject to the discharge of all outstanding liabilities, be presented to some public Institution or Institutions in either or both of the two counties of Lancaster and Chester.

# BYE-LAWS FOR USE OF LIBRARY.

1.—Resident Members may have ten volumes, and Non-Resident fifteen volumes at a time, on written application to the Hon. Secretary.

2.—Carriage of parcels and other expenses to be paid by the borrowing Members.

3.—If any application is made to the Hon. Secretary for any book that has been out two months, he is to request the member detaining the book to return it. No book is to be kept longer than three months, without a renewal of the entry in the Library Register.

4.—The Member in whose name any book is borrowed from the Library, is responsible for the safe return of the book to the Society.

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N.B.—*The prompt return of books, in all cases, without notice from the Hon. Secretary, will greatly promote the usefulness of the Library.*

## *SCHEDULE A.*

HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

The undersigned Members of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, beg to nominate and recommend

* _____

_____

_____

as a Resident Member of this Society.

*(Date)* _____ 18____

_____ } MEMBERS.

_____

* The distinct consent of the Candidate should in every case be obtained, the christian and surnames written at full length, and the address given explicitly.

## *SCHEDULE B.*

### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

I. Minutes of the last Meeting read and signed.

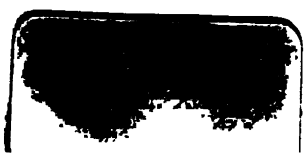
II. Candidates for Membership announced, or Members elected.

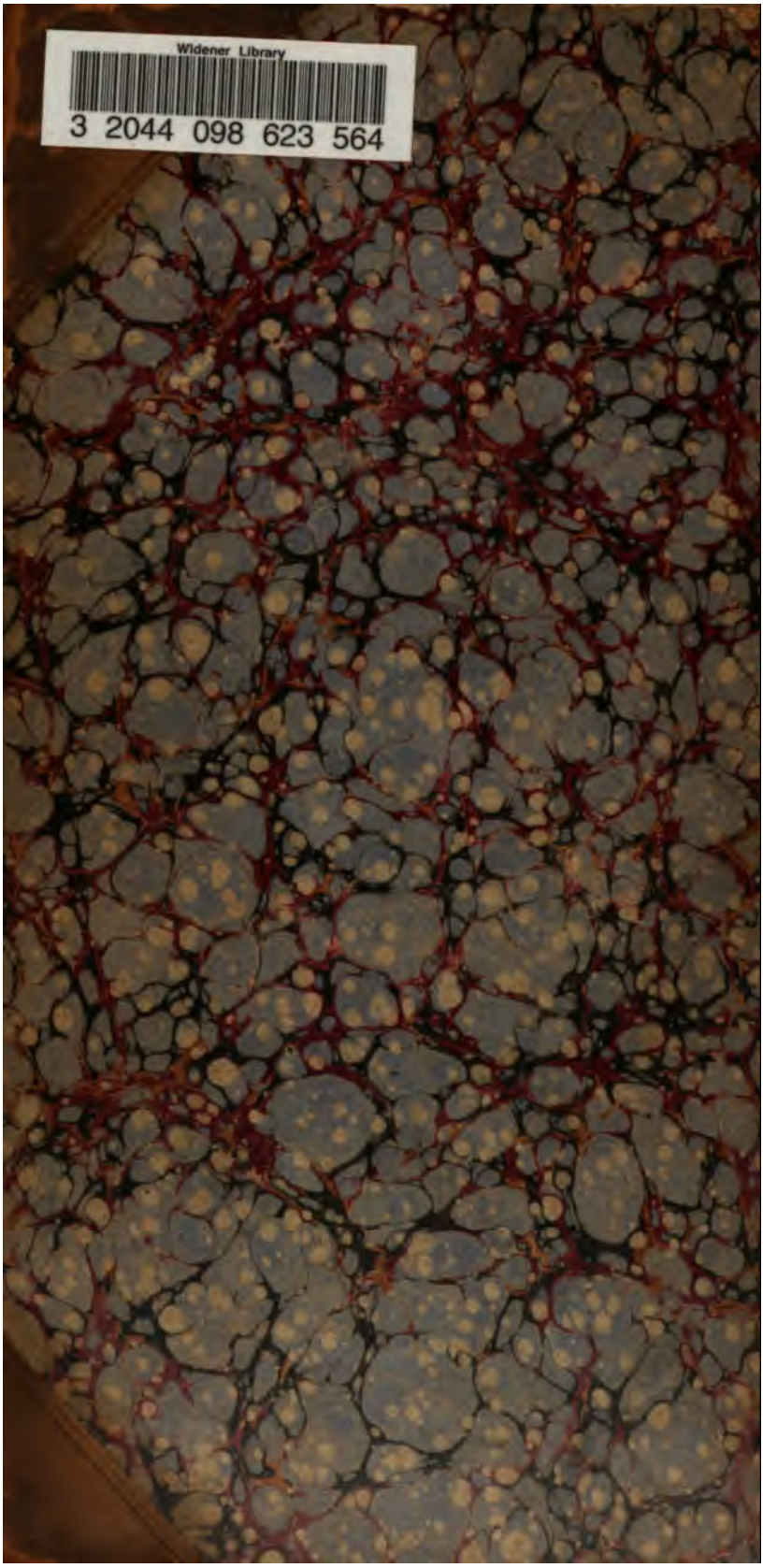
III. Donations to the Society announced.

IV. Objects of interest exhibited.

V. Miscellaneous Communications.

VI. Papers read and discussed.

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